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UPPER ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY GERMANS IN THE ELECTION OF 1872

DENNY L. SCHILLINGS

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UPPER ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY GERMANS IN THE ELECTION OF 1872

(TITLE)

BY

DENNY L. SCHILLINGS

THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Few political movements in American history began with so many opportunities for success, and ended in such chaos as did the Liberal Republican Party in 1872. Beginning as a spontaneous protest against Civil War repression in Missouri, it grew to exemplify dissatisfaction with the Republicans and the corrupt administration of Ulysses S. Grant.

In Illinois the mainstream of politics flowed with the Republican Party. Yet, even here where the Republican Party began to prosper in 1856, support arose for the Liberal movement. Disgruntled over reconstruction, tariffs, corruption, civil service and foreign policy, Illinoisians, especially a number of prominent Germans, rushed to support the rising reform party. By 1872, predictions abounded over the way Illinois would vote in the November election. When Grant carried the state by an overwhelming majority, observers concluded the voters followed traditional party lines. The leadership not withstanding, they argued, ethnic groups such as the

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Germans, once again supported the Republicans as they had done in 1860 and 1864.[1]

It is likely such observations simplified the vote too greatly. The Germans, for example, probably did not support the Republicans any more heavily than did the native born population. In fact, evidence indicates that the opposite often occurred. Although overwhelming support for the Liberals did not occur, neither did the Germans exhibit unqualified enthusiasm for the regular Republicans.

It is the purpose of this study to determine how the Germans in selected townships along the upper Illinois River voted in the election of 1872. During the course of the inquiry it became apparent the Germans tended to vote according to their own wishes and desires, based on a loose group affliation with their German ethnicity; and, that any attempt to routinely classify them as Republican or Democrat is misleading and very often incorrect.

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[1]See Jay Monoghan's, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote?" in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln (Lincoln, Neb., 1971),62-67. Carl Wittke makes a similar observation in his The German-Language Press in America (Lexington, Ky., 1957), 147. Albert B. Faust even goes so far as to suggest an ongoing German proclevity for the Republicans in The German Element in the United States (Boston, 1909), II, 130-131.

I. LIBERAL REPUBLICANISM NATIONALLY

The origins of the Liberal Republican movement lay tangled in the first inept administration of Ulysses S. Grant and the debauchal of post-war reconstruction. Although most work dealing with reconstruction ended before Grant assumed office, there was still enough left to cause both approval and criticism.

The southern question formed the pivot for opposition to Grant. The President laid special importance on the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment, even though a reversion to arms was necessary for his mandate to be carried out. The President's southern opponents, especially the Democrats, quickly pointed out the administration was not able to bring complete peace in the south without resorting to the army, and consequently there was little or no hope of settling the problems of that section by maintaining the leadership in Washington. The Ku-Klux Act was especially pointed out as an example of the inefficiency of a party which with unlimited power had not been able to finish its work with the south in five years.

Military intervention was carried on outside the south as well as inside. The introduction of troops to maintain order following the Chicago fire in October 1871, was a direct affront to Illinois Governor John Palmer and the state legislature.[1] Such recurring instances of military intervention furnished support to the theory, "that Grant was a gloomy despot, openly building up an imperial dominion on the ruins of the Constitution."[2] Grant's opposition was quick to pick up the theory and expond it, especially among ethnic groups, such as the German "forty-eighters" who earlier left the mother country to escape despotic control.

One of the President's most cherished schemes was to secure Santo Domingo for the United States. This blantant expansionistic policy was at best ill timed. A country just beginning to emerge from the ravages of war and still confronted with multiple

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[1]For a brief but thorough description of the intervention see The American Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1871 (New York, 1872), 397.

[2]William Archibald Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic 1865-1877, in A. B. Hart, ed., The American Nation (New York, 1907), XXII, 194.

domestic difficulties was in no mood to add another phase to the definition of "manifest destiny" and move beyond continental limitations to secure land. Grant gave himself so completely to the success of the Santo Domingo project that he was irretrievably linked to its success or failure and as Horace White said, it was "the beginning of an Iliad of woes," for the party.[3]

Civil service reform provided yet another point of contention between the Grant Republicans and those who would become known as Liberals. The President had an uncanny ability for choosing precisely the wrong man for the wrong position. Civil service was to Grant a means by which to repay friends and allies. He exemplified in his appointments the essence of Andrew Jackson's presumption that the victor gains the spoils of the loser. The treatment of the civil service during the early years of Grant could have produced nothing but offence to those of an independent or liberal mind. As one newspaper put it, he dealt

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[3]Horace White, The Life of Lyman Trumbull (New York, 1913), 342.

with high office as if it were a "Presidential perquisite to be given away upon his mere whim, without regard to the claims of the country."[4]

The middle west was particularly irritated at Washington's continuance of the war duties. Anti-administration faction leaders like Carl Schurz of Missouri and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, strongly advocated free-trade. In the middle west administration papers, otherwise loyal, supported the free-trade movement and prominent Republican politicians reflected their constituents views.

In 1868 Grant's candidacy and subsequent election was supported for the most part by the whole of the Republican party. Even those who disavowed any relationship to the President's policies in 1872 campaigned stoutly for him in 1868. Partisan political patterns were changing, however, and by 1870 the curious coalition that formed and stabalized the party of "union and freedom" was breaking up.

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[4]Earle Dudley Ross, The Liberal Republican Movement (Seattle, Wash., 1970), 15.

Missouri, among the border states, was not unique; yet, it was here that the movement which grew into a major party by 1872 began. During the war many Missourians supported the rebellion. To prevent their governmental participation, an amendment disenfranchising them became part of the state constitution. Following the war, they demanded restoration of their rights and, failing to get any substantial results from the regular party, resorted in the state elections of 1870 to the formation of a new political organization. This minority, under the leadership of Benjamin Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, waged a campaign that despite Washington's opposition and a Radical concession on enfranchisement, was successful by a plurality of more than 40,000.

Missouri's successful protest prompted considerable speculation over a third party movement in the upcoming presidential election. Grievances against the president were far from being dissolved, and by the end of 1871, it was apparent that no influence within the party could prevent Grant's renomination. This placed the protesting Republicans in an untentible position. They could hardly acquiese to the

renomination of Grant without also foresaking many of their most stoutly held principles. They were thus forced by events to extend the successful Missouri experiment into the national field. As a matter of course, a mass meeting assembled at Jefferson City, January 24, 1872, and voted to call a national convention in Cincinnati on May 1, 1872.

The Missouri Republicans met with favorable response across the nation, and by the end of April delegates began arriving in Cincinnati. It was a mass meeting of disgruntled Republicans, called together without the power of money or the help of party machinery, but possessing a single minded need for change. Some delegates were obviously committed to the formation of a new party, while others felt the convention would be a transitional point from Republican to Democratic. The majority, though, seemed to want to reform, not defeat, the Republican party. In general the gathering was sincere in its call for reform. Undoubtedly there were political schemers and mercenaries in attendance, but the rank and file were unquestionably dedicated to the nation and profoundly concerned about the future.

At the convention's opening there was some concern as to who would control the proceedings. For one thing there was a large contingent of free trade people. There was also, and perhaps more importantly, the influential editorial group known as the Quadulateral. It promoted the Liberal movement for several months and now hoped to control the convention. The group consisted of Samuel Bowles of the Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican, Henry Watterson of the Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal, Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati Commerical and Horace White of the Chicago Tribune, all of which were intent upon securing the Liberal nomination for Charles Francis Adams.[5] Other principle candidates included Horace Greeley, Lyman Trumbull, David Davis and B. Gratz Brown. The logical choice of the convention seemed to be Adams, for he was favored by the Democrats and feared by the Radicals. The nominee was not to be Adams, though, and any chance for victory faded when the party chose Horace Greeley instead.

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[5]For detail of the groups importance see, Dennis Tilden Lynch, The Wild Seventies (New York, 1941), Chapter 23.

Carl Schurz' election as permanent chairman was the convention's first mistake. From the Liberal movement's outset, he was its leader and the most compulsive reforming spirit within the Liberal party.[6] As an able and proven political organizer, he was what the unruly convention needed. However, the chairman's position took him out of any possible role as Adams' floor manager. His opening address describing Adams as the convention's strongest choice and Greeley the weakest, successfully caused further confusion and distrust among the delegates.

In the early stages, the nomination contest seemed between Adams and Judge David Davis of Illinois. The Adams' people charged Davis backers with using tactics similiar to those employed by Grant's supporters and the accusation successfully eliminated Davis as a serious threat. As Davis' support waned, Greeley's increased. When Missouri's Governor Brown arrived in Cincinnati to withdraw his name from contention, the

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[6]For details of Schurz and the Liberals see Frederick Bancroft and William A. Dunning, eds., The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz (New York, 1909), III, 338-353.

Greeley bandwagon lurched forward. The change to Greeley was not instantaneous, for he did not win until the sixth ballot.[7] The nomination created surprise and disappointment. The Quadulateral was amazed at the outcome, and Liberals around the country raised objections. Greeley was highly respected throughout the country for his sincerity and ability, but his well known erratic behavior caused doubt about his prowess as President. The election now seemed all but lost and many Republicans agreed that "to turn a knave out of the White House for the purpose of putting a fool in was hardly worth while."[8]

Many Liberals remained optimistic over their chances in November. The platform, adopted before the convention bogged down over its nominee, was a source of pride and accomplishment. It was designed to be a clear statement of policy and a complete justification for the movement. Liberal idealism appeared in the "Address to the People of the United States,"[9] but

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[7]For complete vote see Appendix I.

[8]Dunning, Reconstruction, 187.

[9]For entire text of the "Address" see Appendix II.

the hard core political program came forth in the "Resolutions." The third resolution assailed the reconstruction program, and number four called for a return to state self-government. Civil service reform was propagated in number five, high tariff rebuked in six, and seven called for a return to specie payments.[10]

The Liberals' attention now turned to the Democratic convention which convened in Baltimore on July 9. The Democratic vote was an essential part of the Liberal plan to defeat Grant. If the Democrats should fail to endorse Greeley, the opposition to Grant would be divided and powerless. When the Democrats met, they were not really united behind Greeley. Nevertheless there was little other choice, and the principles and candidates of the Liberal Republicans became those of the Democrats.

Four months remained in the campaign following Greeley's acceptance by the Democrats, but they were not to be four months of inspired liberalism crowned by a reform victory. Greeley campaigned

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[10]For the entire text of the "Resolutions" see Appendix III.

actively throughout the summer and early fall. For a time hopes ran high for his election, especially in September when he made a successful tour through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. When the Grant Republicans carried the three "October" states, however, Greeley's adherents abandoned hope, and to no ones surprise, Grant retained his office in November with a majority of 763,007 votes.

Greeley himself was probably the chief cause of defeat, but it is also probable that the country was not yet ready for a movement that advocated reform and liberalism. The Liberal Republican party suffered extinction as quickly as it gained prominence. It effected little immediate change on governmental policies, but did in the long term encourage reform and opposition to static, non-productive policies.

Perhaps the most fitting eulogy for the movement came from a staunch administration publication The Atlantic Monthly; following the overwhelming Grant victory it wrote:

> the Cincinnati movement ended in disaster, last summer, but it had one good result, which all those who avow an interest in reform ought to notice: it proved the existence of a small class of sincere reformers.

> who are not only capable of making a bold attack on the party in power, but who are also ready, in the interest of reform, to turn on their own...fellows...; who are not interested in the reform movement because it seems to afford an avenue to place and profit, but because it is a real reform movement.[11]

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[11] The Atlantic Monthly, XXXI (May, 1873), 640.

II. LIBERALISM, ILLINOIS AND THE GERMANS

The political incompetence and moral laxity of the first four Grant years affected Illinois in much the same way as Missouri. Illinois, however, had no political bone to pick over enfranchisement as did Missouri. The issues in Illinois were all national. Yet, it was in Illinois that the Liberal Republicans from Missouri found sympathy and adherents.

As early as November, 1869, a reform ticket against the regular Republican party in Chicago appeared. Its subsequent failure was no surprise, but it provided opposition substantial enough to produce a new and more beneficial outlay of city finances. The Springfield city elections in April of that same year produced a similar reform ticket and had an effect even more wide spread.[1]

Opposition to Grant among prominent Illinois Republicans continued to grow. The successful reform victory in Missouri during the fall of 1870 caused considerable enthusiasm among liberals in Illinois.

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[1]For an in depth report see the Chicago Tribune, April 13, 1870.

When the Missouri liberals met in January, 1872, to discuss a national movement, Illinois liberals once again were interested. In March, 1872, twenty-two Illinois Republicans addressed a letter to the chairman of the Missouri Liberal Convention. It read in part:

> We, Republicans of Illinois, wish to express our concurrence in the principles lately set forth by the Liberal Republicans of Missouri. We make this departure from the ordinary methods of party action, from a deep conviction that the organization to which we belong is under the control of those who will use it chiefly for personal purposes..... We accept the invitation to meet in a national mass convention in the city of Cincinnati..., and we invite all Republicans who agree with us to cooperate in our action.[2]

Those signing the letter did not represent the radical elements of the Republicans, but many of the most familiar and influential men in the party, as well as the German community. Gustave Koerner, O. M. Hatch, William Gross, William Butler, Jesse Dubois, and G. A. Meyer were all past state officials. Isaac Keys, H. N. Alden, John McConnel, S. P. Townsend

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[2]For the complete text of the letter see, Gustave Koerner, Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896, ed. Thomas J. McCormick (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II, 536-37.

and N. Nolte were equally well known in the Republican circles of Springfield. With such illustrious early support, it is not surprising to find Lyman Trumbull writing Senator Jesse W. Fell on March 9, 1872 that:

> Matters are progressing finely here. The success of the Cincinnati convention is I think assured--am almost daily hearing of movements in different states to send delegations....there ought to be an outspoken movement in Ills.
>
> The best element of the Republican party will be represented at Cincinnati.[3]

Illinois Democrats viewed the move toward an open break in the Republican party as an encouraging sign and were determined to remain apart from the event and allow the split to continue uninterrupted. A similar policy of passivity yielded suitable results in the 1870 Missouri election, and it was deemed logical it would do the same in Illinois.

On March 10, Colonel Fred Hecker, one of the states leading German orators, wrote Gustave Koerner suggesting they call a mass meeting in St. Clair county to appoint delegates to the Cincinnati convention. Consequently, on March 23 Liberal Republicans met

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[3]Lyman Trumbull to Jesse W. Fell, "Correspondence," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, I, no. 1, 106.

in Belleville under the leadership of Koerner and other local German liberals. The St. Clair meeting proved to be the first of many county meetings throughout Illinois held by German and non-German liberals. Lake, Winnebago, Alexander, Pulaski, Union, Perry and Iroquois counties met in late April and chose delegates.[4] Chicago, too, was represented when the Germans called a mass meeting at Turner Hall on April 25; and, other county organizations throughout the state met informally during the month to send delegates to Cincinnati.

Illinois was now among the leaders of the new Liberal trend. On April 27, Senator Trumbull wrote Koerner saying, "I think the nominee for President will be taken from Illinois, unless the rivalry between the friends of various candidates from that state prevents it."[5]

By the time the Cincinnati convention opened, Illinois did indeed provide the greatest number of Presidential nominees. Judge David Davis, Senator Lyman Trumbull and Governor John Palmer controlled

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[4]For a list of delegates see the Chicago Tribune, April 23-30, 1872.

[5]Koerner, Memoirs, II, 543.

numerous votes among their own, as well as other state delegations. Of the three, Lyman Trumbull was by far the more popular among Illinois Germans. It was the highly respected Trumbull who supported Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner in their demands for an investigation of American arms sales to France during the Franco-Purssian War. Illinois Germans followed the investigation with interest, for they enthusiastically supported the fatherland during the war and were incensed when the investigation linked the administration to French agents. This disclosure caused many Germans to turn from Grant and give their support to his opposition.

Senator Trumbull also benefitted from the support of influential newspapers such as the Chicago Tribune and the Springfield Illinois State Register. On April 27, the Tribune came out in support of him as the liberal nominee. The Register, which was the leading Democratic paper outside Chicago, backed Trumbull so heartily that its editor E. L. Merritt attended the Cincinnati convention in the hope of gaining support for the senator. Numerous county delegations, such as that from St. Clair, were instructed to support him, and the leading Illinois

German Gustave Koerner served as his campaign manager in Cincinnati as well as chairman of the Illinois delegation.

The candidacy of United States Supreme Court Justice David Davis, while supported by different elements, was equally as probable as Senator Trumbull's. Davis, however, was not acceptable to the Germans. A conservative in his politics, he was hardly the true liberal the Germans wanted. The Judge's wealth and position, coupled with his past relations with labor, caused many to believe he could not possibly support the Cincinnati platform.

Governor Palmer posed no real threat to either Davis or Trumbull, as evidenced by a letter from Leonard Swett to Jesse Fell in which his name is not even mentioned.

> There is strong Trumbull feeling at Springfield, Alton & Belleville--I suppose fifty people will go from Springfield to Cincinnati in his interest, and if we don't look out, after all we will be oversloughed by numbers.[6]

With a concern over Trumbull's strength at the convention, Swett proposed a method by which his power

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[6]Leonard Swett to Jesse W. Fell, "Correspondence," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, I, no. 1, 106.

in Cincinnati could be lessened:

> It must be arranged that a train with a low rate of fare, if not entirely free should start from Bloomington with a view of taking a large delegation from McLean, Tazewell, Livingston, Logan, Dewitt, Champagne [sic] Ford, Iroquois and Vermilion. These counties are unanimously for Davis, and we must get the bulk of our delegation from them.[7]

The convention, however, proved that the planning of Swett, the guidance of Koerner and the personal appeal of Palmer were not enough to win the nomination. As the balloting progressed in Cincinnati, the choice narrowed to Charles Francis Adams and Horace Greeley. Greeley was unacceptable to the Germans because of his support of temperance. Adams did not seem to represent German interests either, but with a choice between the two necessary, Koerner decided against Greeley and threw Trumbull's delegates to Adams. When Greeley won, the Germans were shocked. They saw the nomination as an affront to the German-American community. The "deal" which caused Greeley's victory seemed to be aimed at Carl Schurz and indirectly at all Germans.[8]

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[7] Ibid., 106.

[8] For the extent of shock over Greeley's nomination see Harris L. Dante, Reconstruction Politics in Illinois 1860-1872 (unpubl. PH.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1950), 328-330.

Nowhere was the loss of support for the national ticket more evident than among Illinois Germans. A few days after the nomination, Carl Schurz wrote Greeley and predicted:

> I see that Governor Palmer promises you 75,000 Republican votes in Illinois. Do not permit yourself to be deceived by such wild talk. In no state is the reaction among the Germans, who form a very considerable element of the Republican Party, more decided than in Illinois.[9]

Koerner, like many other disappointed Liberals, decided to try his best for the success of the ticket, "upon the principle of choosing the lesser evil."[10] It was easy to say, but hard to do. Governor Palmer wrote Koerner soon after his arrival home from Cincinnati, asking for his attendance and speech at a Carlinville meeting for the Greeley-Brown ticket. Koerner replied: "My position is, and I state it so to every body here that between Grant and Greeley, I am for Greeley, farther I dare not go at present

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[9]Carl Schurz to Horace Greeley, May 6, 1872, Speeches, Correspondences and Political Papers of Carl Schurz, ed. Frederic Bancroft (New York, 1913), II, 328.

[10]Koerner, Memoirs, 557.

considering the terrible disappointment of the Germans in our state."[11]

Despite the general disappointment over Greeley, optimism remained high for the movement; probably due to the causes championed by the Liberal platform. In early June, the Tribune reported that "the political situation in the central part of the state was reported as being most gratifying. In Springfield, 276 persons have signed for a Greeley club, 125 being German."[12] The same article also declared that the Germans in McLean County, with one or two exceptions were for Greeley.

The Liberal Republicans met in Springfield on June 26 to nominate their state ticket. The obvious choice for Governor was Trumbull, but he declined, explaining he preferred to stay in the Senate. Many thought Palmer would be a good choice, but he, too, declined. Finally Koerner, who had played such a prominant role in the Illinois movement, was nominated in the hope of regaining the German vote lost when Greeley was nominated.

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[11]Chicago Tribune, May 15, 1872.

[12]Chicago Tribune, June 5, 1872.

The Democrats held a token convention in Springfield on the same day as the Liberals. They realized, as did the national Democratic convention, that the only hope for victory lay in combining with the Liberals. With little other choice available, they resigned themselves to Koerner and the Liberal platform.[13]

Koerner had not actively sought the nomination for governor and accepted on the presumption that he might be able to carry Greeley through Illinois. Koerner's influence in the state was not, however, what it had once been, and it soon became apparent that his name and nationality were not strong enough to carry his own campaign, let alone that of Greeley.

The campaign began during the hot days of July, and by August hope still ran high for Liberal success. On August 1 John Hay wrote Whitelaw Reid that the state looked good and the German vote astonishingly strong and united.[14] Mass meetings were held throughout the state and whenever possible the Germans were

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[13]The state Liberal convention adopted the national platform with no changes. For the Illinois platform see Appendix IV.

[14]William Roscoe Thayer, The Life and Letters of John Hay (New York, 1915), II, 344.

attracted by speeches in their own language.[15] Koerner, drew large crowds by giving speeches in German. In Belleville, Alton, Springfield, Bloomington, LaSalle, Joliet, Freeport, Chicago, Decatur, Quincy, Peoria, Jacksonville, Duquoin and Cairo among others, he addressed the audiences in both English and German. When Carl Schurz spoke, the Germans turned out in even greater numbers. On August 10, the Tribune reported ten thousand Germans turned out to hear him speak in Chicago.[16] In his speech of the 10th, Schurz estimated that seven-eighths of the German vote would be for the Liberals. The Illinois State Register reported that, "of the 40,000 /Germans/ in the state who have heretofore voted the Republican ticket, we have the most trustworthy evidence that six-sevenths are for Greeley and Koerner."[17] The Tribune estimated that the German

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[15]See example of emphasis on the German voter in the political rally notice in Appendix V.

[16]Chicago Tribune, August 11, 1872.

[17]Ernest Ludlow Bogart and Charles Manfred Thompson, The Industrial State 1870-1893, IV of The Centennial History of Illinois, ed. Clarence W. Alvord (Chicago, 1922), 77.

vote would reach 60,000 and that a large portion of it would go to the Liberals.[18]

All was not rosy for the Liberals, though, and all Germans did not support their cause. Such German papers as the Illinois Staatszeitung remained loyal to the Republican party. Hermann Roster, its editor, was delighted with the personal liberty plank in the Republican platform and told his readers it was a rebuke to prohibitionists and Sabbatarians.[19] Some leading Germans even campaigned actively against Greeley. Fred Hecker spent most of the summer touring the state giving speeches in opposition to Greeley. Hecker did support Koerner though, which may indicate that Koerner himself was not overly fond of the Greeley ticket.

The election on November 7 proved a bitter disappointment to the Liberals throughout the nation, but especially those in Illinois. Grant received 56,465 more votes than Greeley, but even more disappointing

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[18]Chicago Tribune, November 2, 1872.

[19]Carl Wittke, The German-Language Press in America (Lexington, Ky., 1957), 156.

was the defeat of Koerner by 40,690 votes. It provided little compensation to the Liberals, that Koerner received 12,312 more votes than Greeley.[20] The results suggest that the Koerner name had lost much of its magic over the German population, and that the Liberals overestimated their strength. If the Cincinnati convention had chosen Trumbull or Davis for president, and, had Palmer been nominated for governor, the vote in the state might have been much closer. All of this is mere conjecture though, for the fact remains that the Liberals must have lost votes among the very group where they claimed control, the Germans. Why this would occur and whether or not such an assertion has any validity will be explored in the remaining chapters.

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[20] Abstracts of Illinois Election Returns 1862-1873, (microfilm, Eastern Illinois University), III, reel 46. For totals of state officers, and members of Congress see Appendix VI.

III. GERMAN SUPPORT OF LIBERALISM?

The extent to which Illinoisians became involved in the Liberal Republican movement is easily evident in the fact that 42.9 per cent of those voting in 1872 chose Greeley over Grant. While the percentage does not indicate a close contest, it nevertheless does show that 184,772 voters disagreed with the incumbent and his party. The Germans tended to conform to the dominant voting patterns of the area in which they lived. It might, therefore, be assumed that they supported Grant in areas where he made a strong showing and rejected him in areas were he was weak. The best way to discover any distinct voting patterns, however, is to investigate specific areas and draw conclusions based on concentrated data, rather than broad general statistics. The Germans, like other groups in the population, had distinctive political preferences based on their perception of the issues and how they would be affected by them. Often these interests varied greatly from those of the general electorate and caused the Germans to react in opposition to the majority.

In order to determine the extent of variance from or compliance with the over all population, representative

counties were selected. The selection process was based on four major considerations: the existance of a significantly large German population; availability of voting data; congruence of voting precincts with census districts; and geographical location.[1] It was desirable to choose counties that were adjacent, as well as meeting the other qualifications, so that a distinct regional relationship could be achieved. Six such counties, Bureau, Grundy, LaSalle, Marshall, Peoria, and Will are found along the upper Illinois River. (Map 1) Created between 1825 and 1841, they lay on the inland water highway used since the days of Marquette and Joliet. Each county, while having its own advantages and disadvantages, was easily accessible to newly arrived immigrants who followed the lakes and rivers to the interior of the continent. The freshly arrived immigrant cherished land and found desirable acreage along the banks of the river. It is in the townships bordering the river then, that a study of immigrant German voting patterns can be produced with any validity of results.

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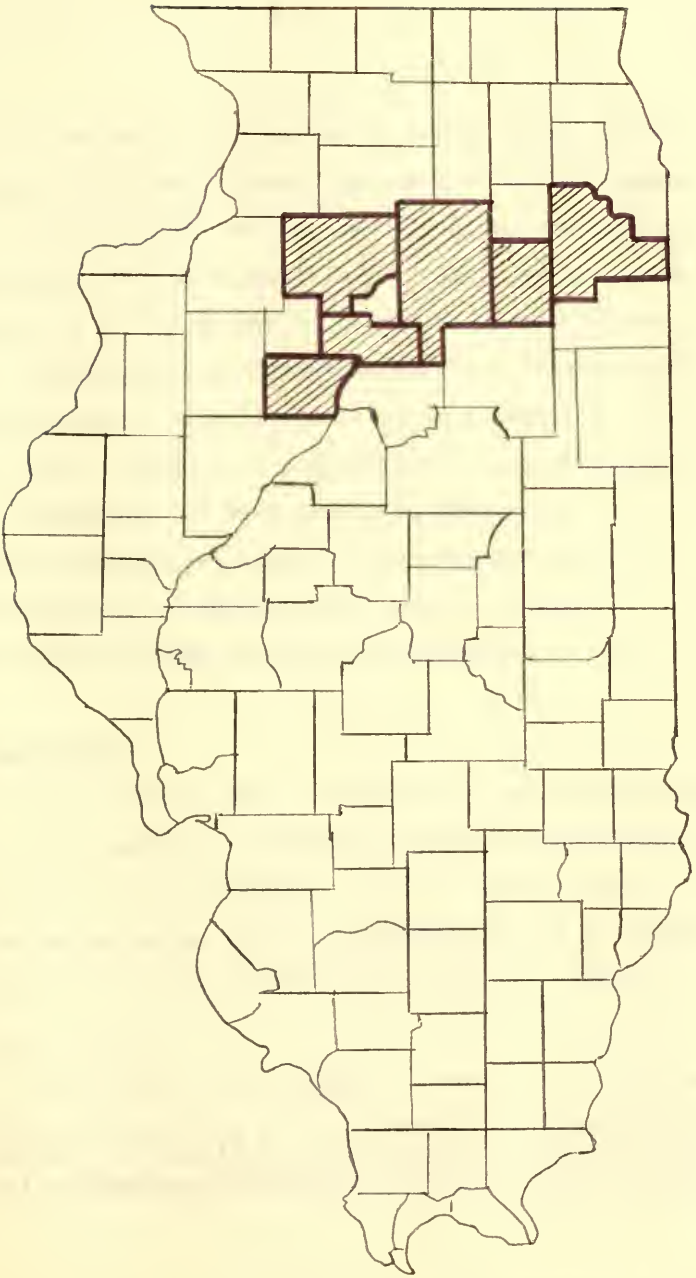
[1]For a discussion of the conditions necessary for correlational analysis see Frederick C. Luebke, Immigrants and Politics, The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900 (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1969), 71-73.



Map 1. Counties selected for correlational analysis.

To uncover voting patterns, a rank order correlational coefficient formula was applied to the number of potential German voters, as related to the number of votes cast for the Republican candidate for President.[2] Statistics on the number of potential German voters were obtained from handcount manuscripts of the 1870 federal census. Election results were acquired from the official returns as published in local newspapers.

An analysis of each county follows. While special emphasis is placed on the election of 1872, correlations for 1864-1896 will also be shown in order that 1872 may be seen in retrospect.

BUREAU COUNTY

Bureau County (Map 2) centrally located among the six river counties of the upper Illinois, borders the river with three townships. In 1870 foreign born residents accounted for 24.1 per cent of the population county wide. In the three river townships of Hall,

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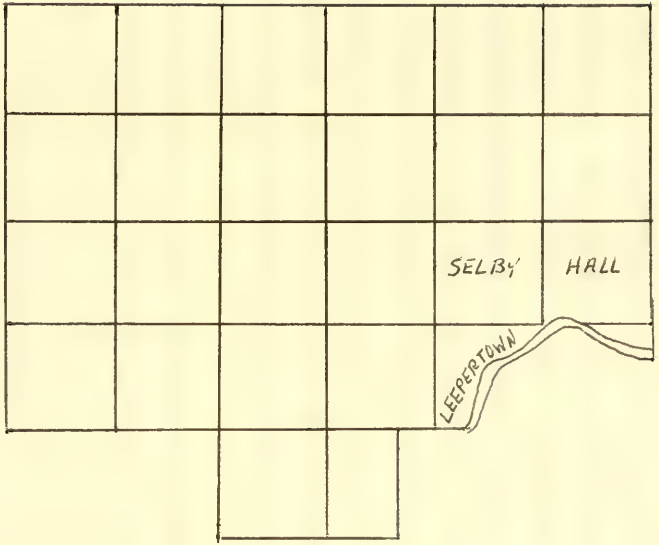
[2]The formula is $p=1-\frac{6\Sigma d^2}{N(N^2-1)}$, where N is the number of pairs of ranks and d is the difference between a pair of ranks. For detail of the formula see Janet T. Spence, et. al., Elementary Statistics (New York, 1968), Chapter 10.

BUREAU COUNTY



Map 2. Townships selected for correlation analysis.

Leepertown, and Selby, the percentage was considerably higher than the average with 42.3, 32.0 and 34.0 per cent respectively.[3] The German per cent of the population closely matched that of the total foreign born, except in Leepertown where the Irish settled. Arriving first in the township, the Irish quickly settled the good river bottom land. The smallest of all the townships,Leepertown provided no further lure for the Germans and they settled elsewhere. The German influx into the county began in the late 1840's and continued throughout the 1850's. Settling first in the eastern end along the river, they gradually moved west, finally dispersing rather evenly throughout the county.[4]

In 1872 when the Liberal movement blossomed, the river townships appeared, as did the rest of the county, to be staunchly pro-Grant. Support for the insurgents did exist, however, and manifested itself in the form

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[3]County population data is based on the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870 (Washington D. C., 1871), 108-21.

[4]County settlement is traced in detail in Doris Parr Leonard, ed., Big Bureau and Bright Prairies, A History of Bureau County, Illinois (Moline, Illinois, 1968).

of a new newspaper, the Bureau County Tribune.[5] It is more than likely that the Tribune's influence was slight, though, because of the limited time it existed and the entrenched circulation of the Bureau County Republican. The ethnic vote evidently did not concern the editors of the Republican because virtually no appeal to the Germans or any other foreign groups was made in its pages throughout the course of the campaign.

Figure 1 shows the coefficients of correlation that were obtained for the three townships from 1864-1896 when the vote for Republican candidates were ranked with the order of precincts.[6] (Table 1) In 1872 the coefficient is +.50, which indicates that approximately 50 per cent of the reason for a German voter to vote Republican could have been his ethnicity. A number of other variables may also have affected his decision

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[5]Located in Princeton, the Tribune was in direct opposition to the Bureau County Republican, a strong administration supporter. Soon after the election the Tribune ceased publication and no records from it are available.

[6]One, always indicates the highest percentage of any given quantity. The range of possible coefficients is from +1.00 to -1.00. If a coefficient of +1.00 were obtained, it would mean that the order of precincts, ranked according to most German and the rank of percentage of Republican votes given a candidate, are identical. If a -.00 is obtained, the rank order is exactly reversed.

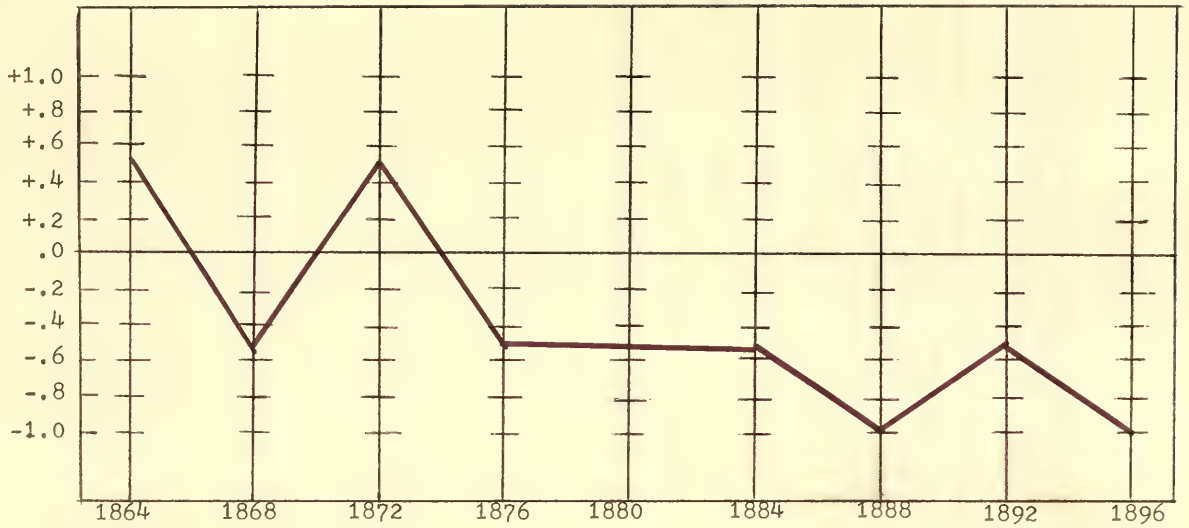

FIGURE 1. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Bureau County, Illinois, 1864-1896.

TABLE 1

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of Bureau County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Hall	268	96	35.8	2
Leepertown	96	6	6.0	3
Selby	399	169	42.4	1

as well. One very strong influence must have been the overwhelming support throughout the county for Grant.[7] The fact also remains that the Liberals failed to unite in the county and likewise failed to offset the organized regular party. If the German voter did vote because of his ethnicity,his interest would have been directed inward on the county offices, which were strongly Republican. With this situation, the German interests were best served by supporting the in-power organization; and since the Liberals failed to present a satisfactory platform anyway, the German had nothing to lose and everything to gain by supporting the local majority party, and thereby the national Republican ticket.

It should also be noted that the 1872 coefficient is in direct opposition to the 1868 and 1876 coefficients of -.50, but in line with that of 1864. Both 1864 and 1872 represent the candidacy of an incumbant Illinois Republican President. The Germans of Bureau

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[7]Grant received 63.4 per cent of the county vote.

[8]A negative correlation does not necessarily indicate a proclevity for the opposition; but in Bureau County few votes in any election found their way to minor parties.

County undoubtedly felt the pressure of conformity and likewise felt secure in voting for a tried public official, who in turn was supported by the county majority. The elections of 1864 and 1876 on the other hand did not provide proven candidates, and when faced with a choice, the German voter may have decided a change would be beneficial.[8] Whatever the specific voter's reasons, the coefficients indicate a tendancy away from the Republican party following 1872.

GRUNDY COUNTY

Grundy County, (Map 3) located further up river than Bureau, contains no city larger than Morris, its county seat. Located along the Illinois river, Morris was one of six river townships in 1872. Auxsable, Erienna, Felix, Norman and Wauponsee also contain large segments of the river and provided rich farm land for newly arrived residents to the county.

In 1970 the Germans, who had been among the original settlers of the county, comprised less than 10 per cent

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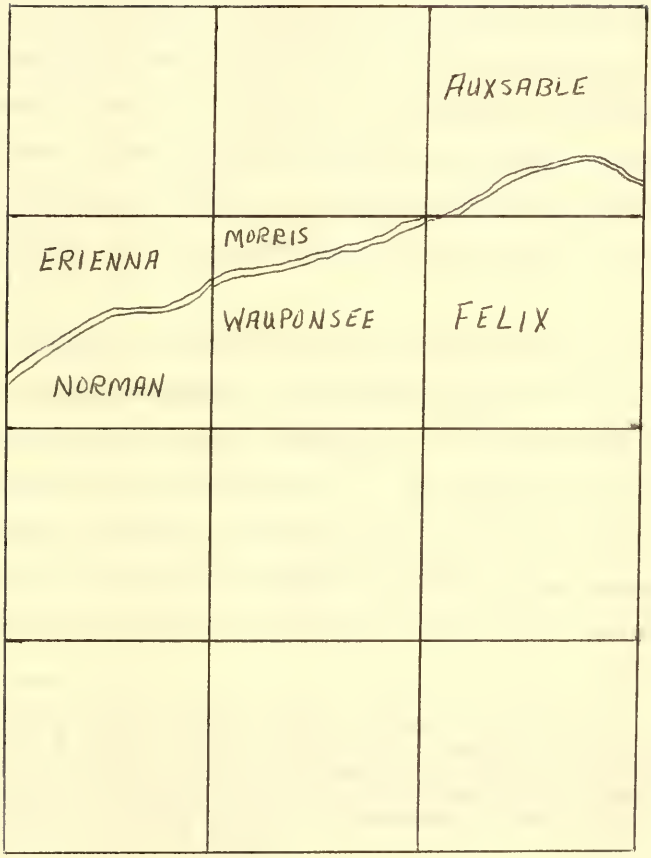
[8]A negative correlation does not necessarily indicate a proclevity for the opposition; but in Bureau County few votes in any election found their way to minor parties.



Map 3. Townships selected for correlational analysis.

of the voting population.[9] (Table 2) The per cent of foreign born voters exceeded 45 per cent in all but one township, though, with the Irish providing the dominate group. Despite their lack of numbers, the Germans exercised a considerable authority over their neighbors. The census shows them to be highly skilled and generally the possessors of property or personel wealth of some note.[10]

In 1872 the Germans took initiative and supported a new county newspaper, the Reformer, which was "anti-Republican, principally Democratic, but considerably tinctured with greenbackism."[11] The regular administration paper, likewise concerned over influencing the citizens, ran articles aimed at gaining German support. In a reprint article on October 12 entitled "A German

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[9]Only males twenty years of age or older were considered because of the mandatory twenty-one requirement for voting. Since the census of 1870 is the basis for study, it might then be assumed that males less than twenty in 1870 would not necessarily have been eligable to vote by 1872.

[10]The 1870 census provides information on occupations as well as the amount of personal property and real estate. Generally, wealth and property are prerequisite for community leadership, and therefore, it may be concluded that the Germans would possess some voice in civil affairs.

[11]O.L. Baskin and Co., publ., History of Grundy County Illinois (Chicago, 1882), 161.

TABLE 2

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of Grundy County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Auxsable	249	15	6.0	3
Erienna	88	6	6.8	2
Felix	152	6	3.9	4
Morris	802	77	9.6	1
Norman	126	4	3.2	5
Wauponsee	193	5	2.6	6

on the situtation," the Morris Herald and Adviser quoted Dr. Francis Lieber, a noted New York German, in his arguments describing the lunacy of the liberal cause.[12]

Attempts to draw the Germans into the Republican ranks appear to have failed, however, when the coefficients are analyzed. (Fig. 2) The coefficient of -.65 provides a strong indication that the Germans favored the Liberals instead of the Republicans in 1872. The Germans apparently felt, unlike those of Bureau County, that little advantage lay in voting Republican since the county administration was fairly even in its division between Democrats and Republicans.

The pattern created by graphing the coefficients of correlation for Grundy County bear a strong resemblance to that of Bureau County after 1876. Both counties' German population tended to move away from the regular Republican party as the century progressed. The 1872 election appears to be a prelude to the movement. Although disappointed by the choice of Greeley for President, the Germans where equally displeased

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[12]Morris Herald and Adviser, October 12, 1872.

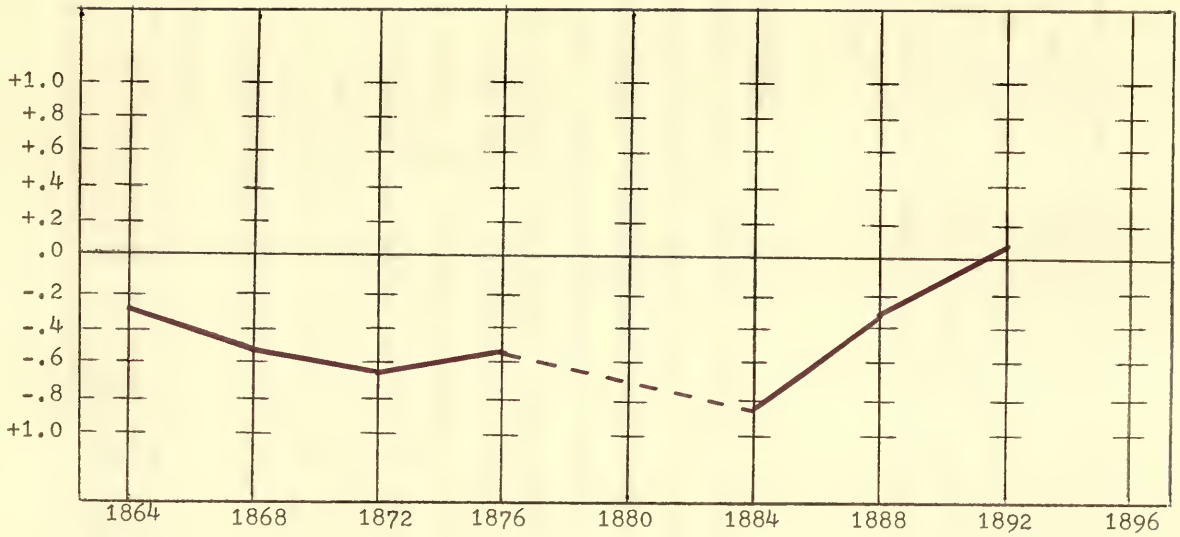

FIGURE 2. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Grundy County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the elections of 1880 and 1896 are not available.

with Grant and consequently failed to support him. The only two choices remaining were not to vote, or to vote for Greeley. The Germans generally preferred to exercise their rights as citizens and thus were left with only the latter choice of casting a vote for Greeley.

MARSHALL COUNTY

Marshall County (Map 4) is divided exactly in half by the Illinois River, and the four river townships contain not only the county seat Henry, but also the city of Lacon. Many of the earliest settlers in the county were Germans from Bavaria. Many German Catholics settled in the vicinity of Henry and evidence indicates that a monastery may also have existed in the town.[13] By 1870 the German population was not as strong as in earlier times, but did control 15.2 percent of the four townships' total vote. In Henry the percentage was only slightly higher with 17.7. (Table 3)

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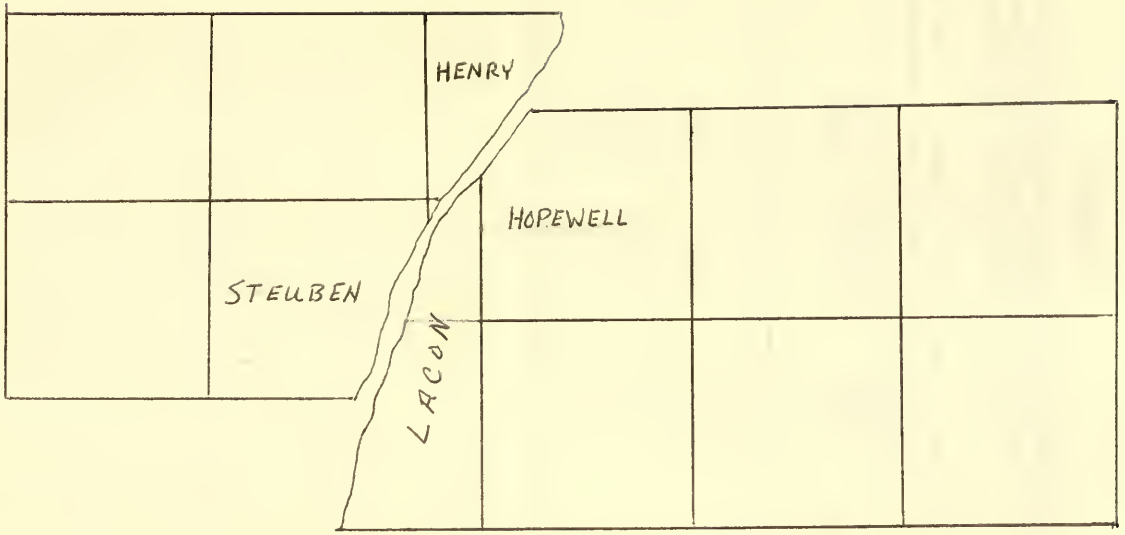
[13]The county history indicates a large number of priests in Henry during the early days. See, W. E. Hawthorne and John Spencer Burt, Past and Present of Marshall and Putnam Counties Illinois (Chicago, 1907), 36.

MARSHAL COUNTY



Map 4. Townships selected for correlational analysis.

TABLE 3

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of Marshall County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Henry	738	125	17.7	2
Hopewell	200	47	13.5	1
Lacon	561	66	12.7	3
Steuben	238	16	6.7	4

As in other counties, the election of 1872 proved to be a decisive victory for the Grant Republicans, with 58.4 per cent of the vote going their way. Little concern existed over the candidacy of Greeley as President, but some concern prevailed in the pre-election press over the Koerner campaign. The major county newspapers, the Henry Republican and the Lacon Home Journal, both pro-administration, directed considerable effort toward the German and their expected vote for Koerner and Greeley. In late October, the Henry Republican ran an article entitled "Pavement Politics" which exemplified its position toward the ethnic vote.

> Scene, street corner.
>
> German--I believe I votes for Koerner because he is a German. (exit German)
>
> American--Well, I had no particular choice, but the talk of that German decides me. I'll vote for Oglesby because he is an American. (exit American)
>
> Moral--German Knownothingism is as bad as any kind, and the clannishness exhibited by the Germans in this campaign has created an opposition, silent but the more powerful on that account, which will result in giving Oglesby 10,000 more votes.... This false light in which many of our good German citizens have placed themselves can be remedied in part by prompt action.... It ought to be enough for anyone to be an American cit-

> izen without lugging in place of birth, or home country as precedent to political claims....[14]

The fears of the Republican proved to have little basis, for the election returns show Oglesby receiving only three per cent less than Grant. When the coefficients for the four townships are examined, though, it appears the Germans did not heed the warnings of the Republican's editors. (Fig. 3) A consistant coefficient of -.50 occurs in the elections immediately preceding 1872, and with only a slight rise in 1876, remains fairly constant throughout the rest of the century.

The "clannishness" the Republican described certainly appears to have had its effect in 1872. There is also the fact that many Marshall County Germans appear to have been Catholic, which would incline them to choose the Catholic Koerner and carry votes over to Greeley despite his prohibitionist stand. As in the other counties, a negative correlation does not necessarily mean Marshall County Germans voted for Greeley, but in the four townships, only 14 votes

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[14]Henry Republican, October 24, 1872.

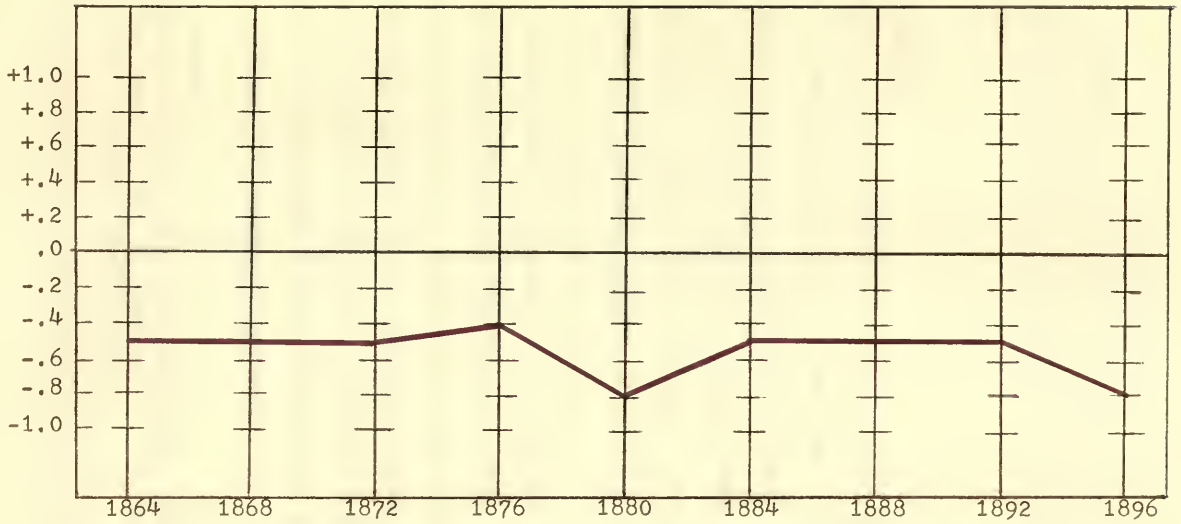

FIGURE 3. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Marshall County, Illinois, 1864-1896.

went to candidates other than the major one so that it seems likely the Germans did support the Liberals to some extent.

LASALLE COUNTY

LaSalle County (Map 5) is the largest of the six counties of the upper Illinois River, and likewise has the most townships boardering the river, ten. Like the other counties LaSalle's main towns are found along the banks of the river. LaSalle, Peru and Ottawa were not only the largest in the county but among the leaders in the Illinois River Valley.

The rural river townships of Brookfield, Deer Park, Fall River, Manilius, Rutland and South Ottawa were mostly populated by native born Americans according to the 1870 census.[15] On the other hand, the townships which contain large towns, register high per centages of foreign born,[16] and Peru has an especially high per centage of Germans. (Table 4)

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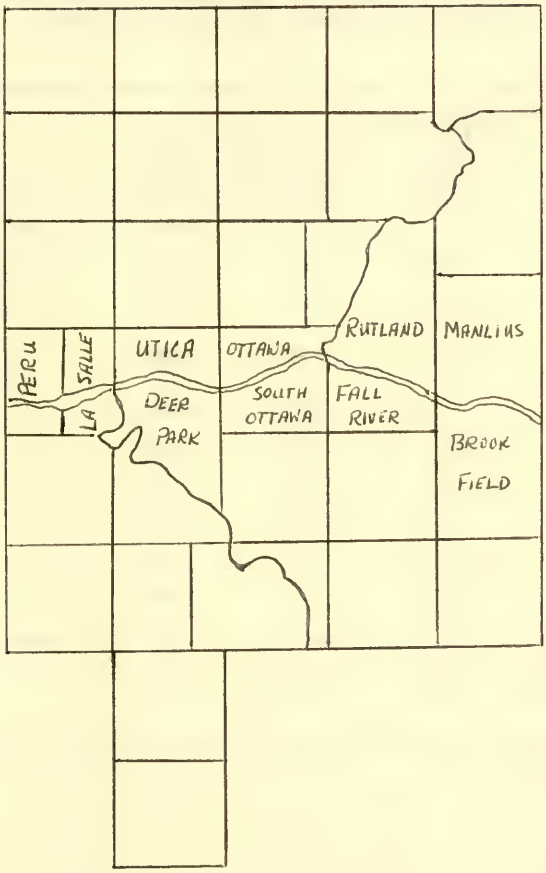
[15]Native born in each township were: Brookfield-61.3%; Deer Park-76.2%; Fall River- 77.4%; Manlius-65.1%; Rutland-70.4%; South Ottawa-66.9%.

[16]Foreign born in each township were: LaSalle-77.6%; Ottawa-64.8%; Peru-75.6%; Utica-54.6%.

LA SALLE COUNTY



Map 5. Townships selected for correlational analysis.

TABLE 4

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of LaSalle County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Brookfield	295	33	11.2	4
Deer Park	231	14	6.5	5
Fall River	133	6	4.5	8
LaSalle	1328	189	14.2	3
Manlius	249	10	4.0	9
Ottawa	1894	322	16.9	2
Peru	896	427	47.7	1
Rutland	406	11	3.0	10
South Ottawa	148	9	6.0	6
Utica	291	14	4.8	7

The 1872 election was hotly contested among the river's more populace townships, but as so often was the case during Illinois' earlier days, the rural townships carried the election for Grant by a majority of 62.2 per cent county wide. The three townships of LaSalle, Peru, and Ottawa voted overwhelmingly for the Liberal ticket,[17] however, which leads to the conclusion that the vote split along ethnic lines in LaSalle County.

Peru had the distinct advantage of a German language newspaper, the Central Illinois Wachenblatt, which enjoyed wide circulation in the twin city LaSalle-Peru area. With a combined German voting population of 616, LaSalle-Peru was a Liberal strong hold in the county, and the carry over of influence to the Irish is evidenced by the high number of votes for Greeley, 840 as compared to 432 for Grant. The coefficients of correlation (Fig. 4) show a strong anti-Republican tendancy of -.70 among the Germans. The close affiliation of German voters to members of their own nationality and the availablity of a German

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[17]For election results of the selected townships in each of the six counties 1864-1896 see Appendix VII.

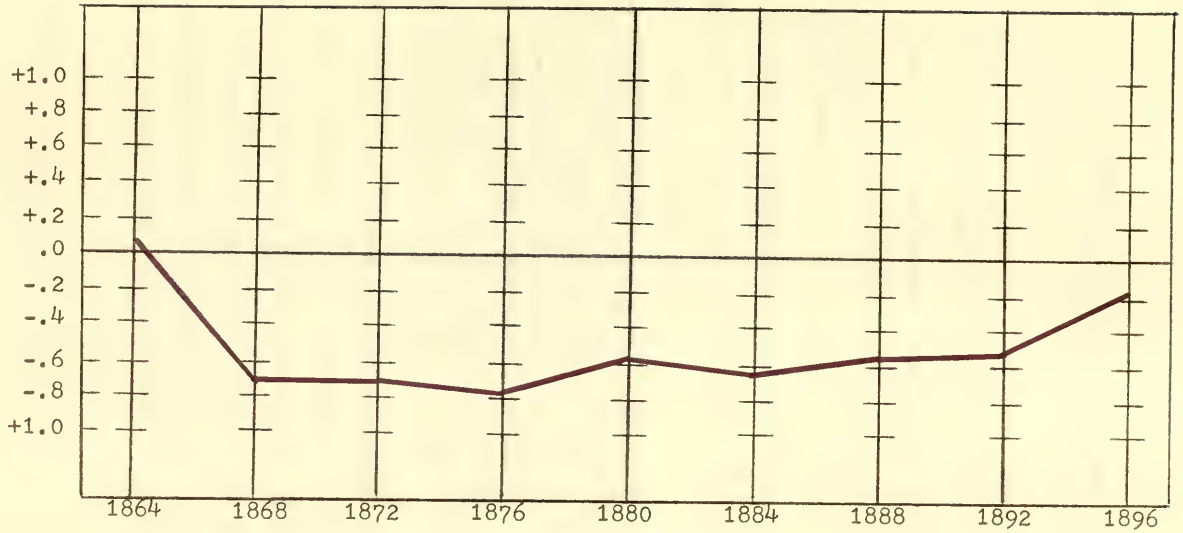

FIGURE 4. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of LaSalle County, Illinois, 1864-1896.

language paper, united the German vote against the incumbant President.

Ottawa possessed many of the same traits as did LaSalle-Peru, except that it lacked their overwhelming foreign vote. The two Ottawa newspapers, The Republican and Free Trader, were strong administration supporters and actively debated the candidacy of Greeley. In an attempt to divert German and Irish voters, the Republican ran a four year old reprint from Greeley's Tribune. Greeley had written:

> We do business in a city governed by carpet-baggers only just over from Cork, Limerick and Sauer-Krautenthal. The difference between our carpet-baggers from Europe and those with which the rebellious...are afflicted, is that ours are generally as deficient in mental and moral cultivation as in property. We believe most of the southern carpet-baggers have at least made the acquaintance of the schoolmaster.[18]

Despite the criticism of ethnic mentality and morals shown here and in other articles by the Republican, the Germans placed more faith in Greeley than Grant.

The Germans of Ottawa, unlike those of LaSalle-Peru, were mostly skilled workers who had some personal property, yet, both areas show a high preference for

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[18]Ottawa Republican, October 3, 1872.

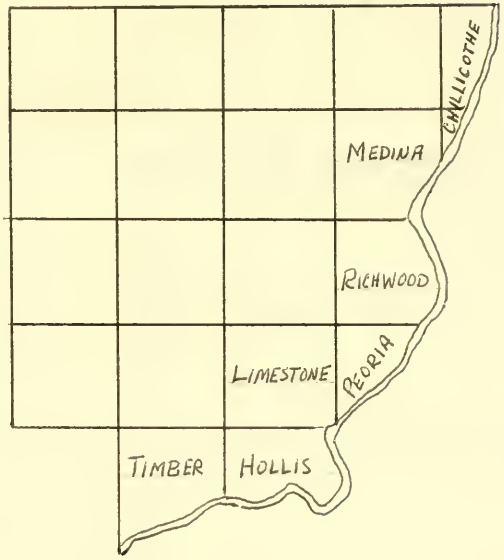
Greeley. The explanation is that wealth played a slight role in the decision of the individual German voter. His vote was cast upon his interests as a German and not as a worker in any particular trade or position of wealth.

PEORIA COUNTY

The most southern of the six counties of the upper Illinois River, Peoria, was the largest in population by 1870. Seven townships bordered the river, (Map 6) with the city of Peoria having the greatest voting population of any Illinois river city. The Germans accounted for slightly over one fourth of the total in Peoria, Hollis, Limestone and Richwood townships. (Table 5)

Beginning in the early 1830's, Peoria and vicinity drew large numbers of immigrants. Most of the Germans settled in the area following a period of residence in St. Louis or Cincinnati, however. Generally speaking these early arrivals were farmers who settled outside of the city of Peoria and adapted themselves to the cultural and political life of the native residents. Following the 1848 revolution in Germany, the character of the German immigrants changed. The new

PEORIA COUNTY



Map 6. Townships selected for correlational analysis.

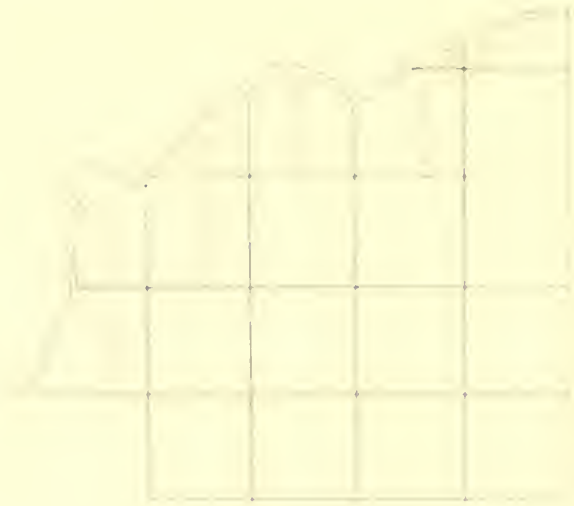


TABLE 5

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of Peoria County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Chillicothe	377	33	8.7	6
Hollis	266	62	23.3	3
Limestone	575	221	38.4	1
Medina	244	28	11.5	5
Peoria	5598	1595	28.4	2
Richwood	306	69	22.6	4
Timber	388	32	8.2	7

arrivals tended to settle in the city of Peoria and exhibited more professional talent than previous settlers. The abundance of new professionals seeking employment created a boom for German newspapers and in 1852 the Illinois Banner (later the Deutsche Zeitung) was started.[19]

By 1872 the Deutsche Zeitung was the leading German paper of the region and during the Spring threw its important support behind the newly born Liberal Republican party. The foremost English language paper, the Daily Transcript, was as stoutly administration as the Deutsche Zeitung was anti-administration and aimed itself at the native-born population. There was, in fact, surprisingly little appeal by the Daily Transcript to the ethnic vote. The editors of the Daily Transcript evidently felt it would be self defeating to court the German vote, and resigned themselves to the power of the Deutsche Zeitung as the voice of the Germans.

With such a formidable weapon as the Deutsche Zeitung, the German vote should have been united behind

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[19]Peoria newspapers are discussed in detail in Johnson and Co., publ., The History of Peoria County Illinois (Chicago, 1880), 489-91.

the Liberal ticket. When the coefficients of correlation are consulted, however, it appears the German vote was not polarized effectively by the press. (Fig. 5) The trifling figure of -.04 is obtained in the river townships, which would indicate the Germans voted for reasons other than their ethnicity. The high proportion of professionals and skilled workers in the German community could effectively off set the straight line voting for a German candidate or affiliates that characterized other river townships. The Germans of Peoria may have cast their votes based on religion, wealth, profession, lodge membership or personal interests.

The election returns show evident German support for the Liberals, though, because in the areas of highest German concentration Greeley commanded impressive majorities.[20] Whatever the cause for the individual German casting his vote in Peoria County, the Liberals benefitted. In the county as a whole

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[20]See Appendix VII and Table 5. In the city of Peoria the 1st ward with 36.7% Germans went 357 to 151 for Greeley; 4th ward 30% German was 266 to 121. and the 6th ward with 42.9% Germans was 415 to 149 in favor of Greeley.

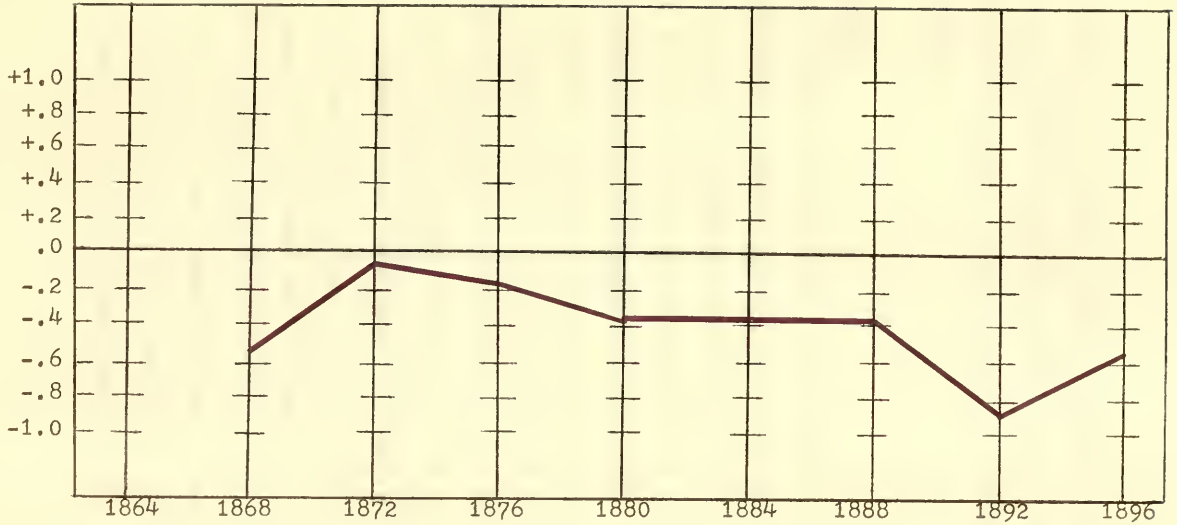


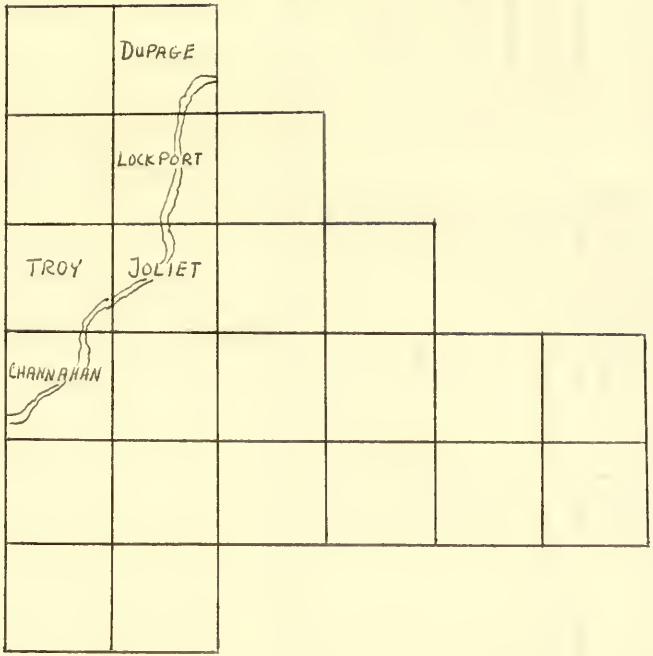
FIGURE 5. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Peoria County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the election of 1864 is not available.

they received a majority of 3983 compared to 3659 for the regular Republicans, and carried six of the seven rural river townships, as well as four of Peoria's seven wards.

WILL COUNTY

Will County is the last of the upper Illinois River counties. (Map 7) As the most northern county on the river, Will was subject not only to the settling patterns of the other river counties, but also to the growing metropolitan influences of Chicago. The five river townships accounted for 40.4 per cent of the county population of 43,013, and the city of Joliet alone had 20.3 per cent of the total. As in other river counties the Germans were among the earliest settlers, drawn by good land and abundant jobs in numerous quarries and brick works located along the river. The existance of a federal penitentuary in Joliet also accounted for many jobs, both directly and indirectly. By 1870 the Germans accounted for ten to twenty per cent of the vote in the river townships, (Table 6) and were employed in all trades and professions.

WILL COUNTY



Map 7. Townships selected for correlational analysis.

TABLE 6

Potential Voting Population among German-American Adult Males in selected townships of Will County, Illinois, According to the Census of 1870.

Township	Total Adult Males	Potential German Voters	Per Cent of Total Adult Males	Rank
Channahan	287	25	9.0	5
Dupage	313	42	13.4	2
Joliet	2215	448	20.2	1
Lockport	963	118	12.3	3
Troy	281	28	10.0	4

In 1872 the river townships were split in their decisions over who should hold the office of President. The election returns show Grant carrying a majority in DuPage and Lockport, while Greeley carried Channahan, Troy, and three of Joliets five wards.

The election was a hotly contested affair in the city of Joliet and was responsible for the creation of numerous ethnic organizations for or against the different candidates.[21] The Signal, a Liberal publication, made much ado over the importance of the ethnic vote and openly courted the Germans; while the administration paper, the Republican, avoided partisanship toward nationality, and limited itself to discussions of the national issues. The creation of a new Republican paper, the Sun, more than made up for the Republican's lack of ethnic appeal, though, especially with its blatant attacks on Greeley's support of prohibition. Despite these press attempts to gain support for the respective candidates, the outstanding mistake of both

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[21]On August 27, the Joliet Signal reported the formation of a German "Greeley and Koerner Club," and in September the Joliet Republican reported a similar club created by Germans to support Grant. Neither club appears to have had much influence, though, and was short lived in popularity. By November no mention is being made of such clubs in either the Signal or the Republican.

parties was the failure to produce a German language paper, such as existed in Peoria.

The lack of a united front for the Liberals is especially apparent when the coefficients of correlation are reviewed. (Fig. 6) The high coefficient of +.60 is obtained in 1872, which would indicate the Germans gave strong support to the Republicans. Except for Bureau County, such German support for Grant is unusual along the river.

A number of factors may account for the failure of Will County Germans to follow the tendancies of other river Germans. In Channahan, DuPage, and Troy townships, the Germans were primarily engaged in agriculture. All three townships had large contingents of native born voters and an evident lack of any general kind of predominantly German organizations. Rural Germans throughout the river valley tended to conform to the dominate political patterns of their immediate region, unless organized otherwise. There is no reason to believe the German farmers of Channahan, DuPage and Troy differed from this general principal, and probably went along with the native voters who were inclined to support the regular Republicans in 1872.

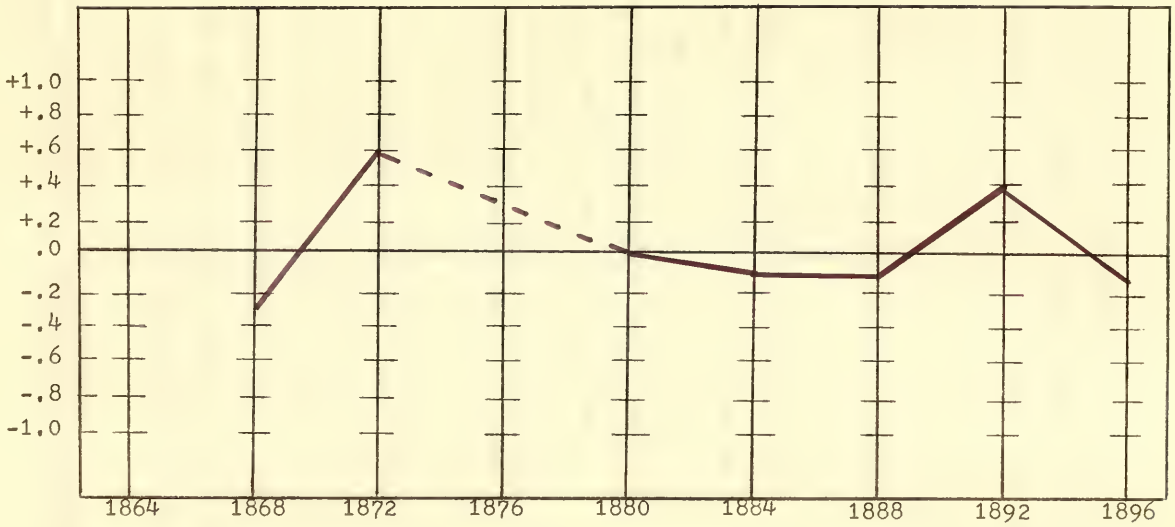

FIGURE 6. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential German voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Will County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the elections of 1864 and 1876 are not available.

In Lockport many Germans worked in the brick yards and stone quarries. Here again no direct effort was set forth to influence their vote, and consequently the individual German was left to his own decision. The village offices of Lockport were controlled by the Republicans in 1872[22] and generally speaking the wealthier citizens, whom the Germans worked for, were regular Republicans. Given these circumstances, it is not hard to imagine the individual choosing the party in power. Whatever the decision the German decided his vote according to what was deemed most beneficial to him on the local rather than national level.

In the city of Joliet, the individuals choice seems to be related to occupation and time spent in this country. In Joliets' 2nd ward, 44.7 per cent of the voters' were German and the election returns show Grant receiving 75 votes and Greeley 165. Most of the 2nd wards Germans were recent arrivals, who owned little and generally took jobs in the quarries or as labors. They maintained close ties with the recently departed motherland, and became concerned over the administration's alleged

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[22]See August Morse, History of Will County Illinois (Indianapolis, 1928), for a brief description of village government.

sale of arms to French troops engaged in combate against the Prussians. When shown what they considered a blatant attack on the homeland by Grants' agents, the Germans voted strongly against the Republicans.

Joliet's 3rd ward on the other hand was not strongly anti-Grant. With a relatively high German proportion of 31.8 per cent, the ward voted a near tie at the poll with 180 votes for Grant and 185 for Greeley. It appears 3rd ward Germans were among the older inhabitants of Joliet and occupied jobs of every description. Their average wealth was higher than the 2nd ward and they tended to be slightly older. With a longer separation from the homeland, plus more stabiblity in their occupations, these Germans were not as concerned over the Franco-Prussian War or changing administrations. That, plus the lack of any purely German publication, split the German vote.

When the vote is assessed for the five townships, the failure of the Liberals to unite the Germans' nationalistic tendancies stands out as their big mistake. The inablity of the Liberals to produce large majorities in the populace river townships caused them to lose support in the only place in the county where they

would be able to offset the more rural areas to the east. Thus the Liberals lost Will County because of negligence as much as anything else.

The overall voting tendancy of the river townships in all six upper river counties was with the regulars in 1872. The Germans appear to have supplied adequate support for the Liberals in only about one half of the townships; yet, the fact remains that the native voters were as discontent as the Germans. Hence, the final chapter will explore the possiblity that the Germans tended to follow the lead of the native voter whenever their own interests were not in direct opposition to that of the general populace.

IV. NATIVES AND GERMANS

While it is true that individual Germans differed in their political behavior, an analysis of voting records and correlational coefficients show a distinctive separation between the German voter and the native voter. In four of the six river counties, the Germans show a strong tendancy for the Liberal Republicans. The remaining two counties, Bureau and Will have Germans leaning to the Regular Republicans.[1]

In both Bureau and Will counties coefficients for the native voters are.0, while the Germans are +.50 and +.60 respectively.[2] (Fig. 7 and 8) The Germans in either case may have been influenced to vote for Grant because of native sentiment for the regulars. Even if that were the case, however, the Germans show a more definate move to the Republicans than the natives, indicating a group cohesivness not demonstrated by non-Germans. In both counties,

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[1] See Figures 1-6.

[2] A coefficient of .0 indicates the voter cast a vote for reasons other than nationality.

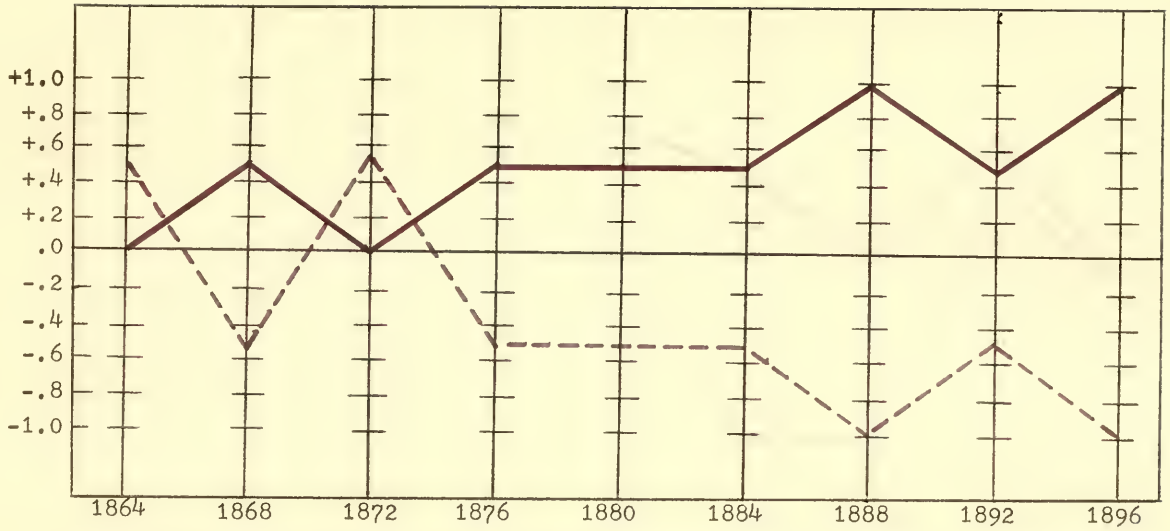

FIGURE 7. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Bureau County, Illinois, 1864-1896. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

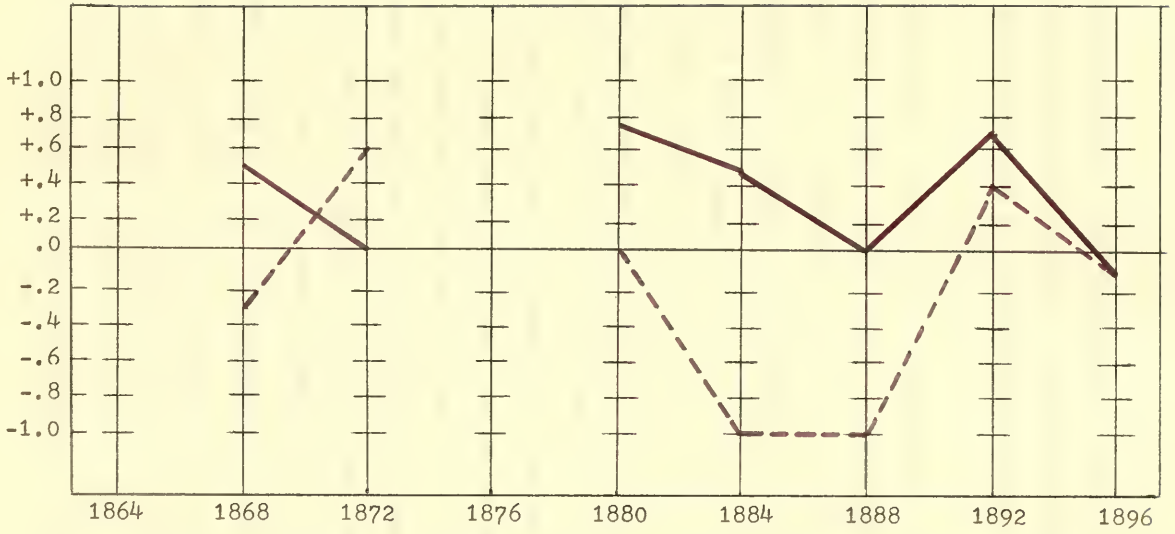

FIGURE 8. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Will County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the elections of 1864 and 1876 are not available. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

German interests lay with the in-power party, due to the local political controls, and they were more willing to go along with, rather than contest the system.

Grundy county on the other hand shows a wide variation in the two groups. (Fig. 9) The native coefficient is a reasonably high +.49 in favor of the Republicans; Germans were anti-Grant to the extent of -.65. It would appear that native voters remained loyal to the Republican party due to the lack of organized resistance and the support of county newspapers. Despite the fact that about half of the county offices were held by Democrats, the natives viewed the Liberal-Democratic combination as unworkable and went with the Republicans. The Germans defied both the natives and the election outcome of 69.9 per cent for Grant, in order to back the Liberals. This was the German strength that Liberal Republicans hoped for but did not always receive.

Marshall county native born voters were unhappy with the Grant Republicans just as were the Germans, as seen by the coefficient of -.20. (Fig. 10) The Germans were probably leaders rather than followers

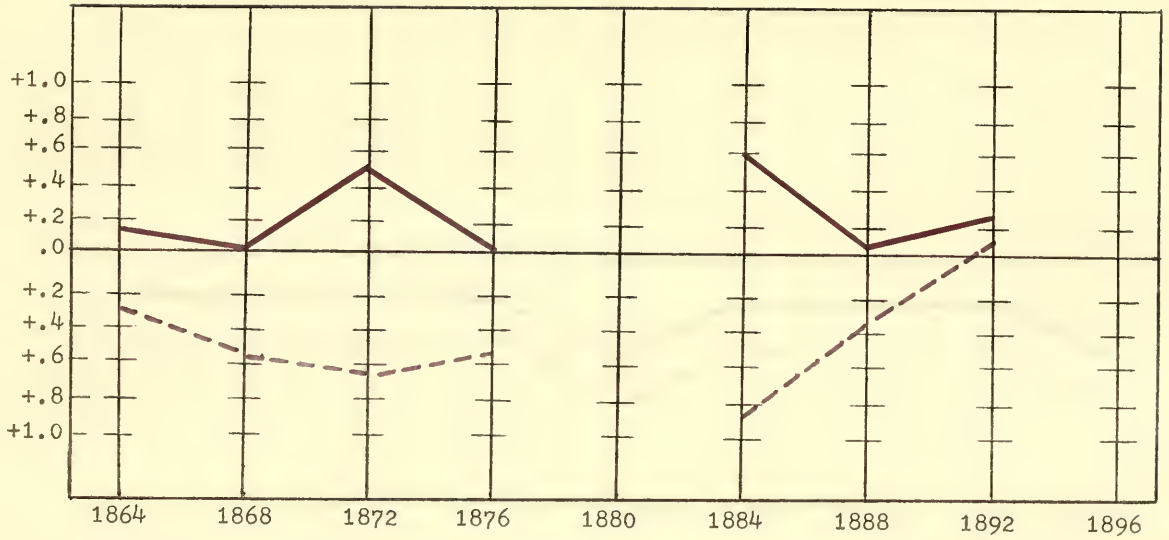

FIGURE 9. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Grundy County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the elections of 1880 and 1896 are not available. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

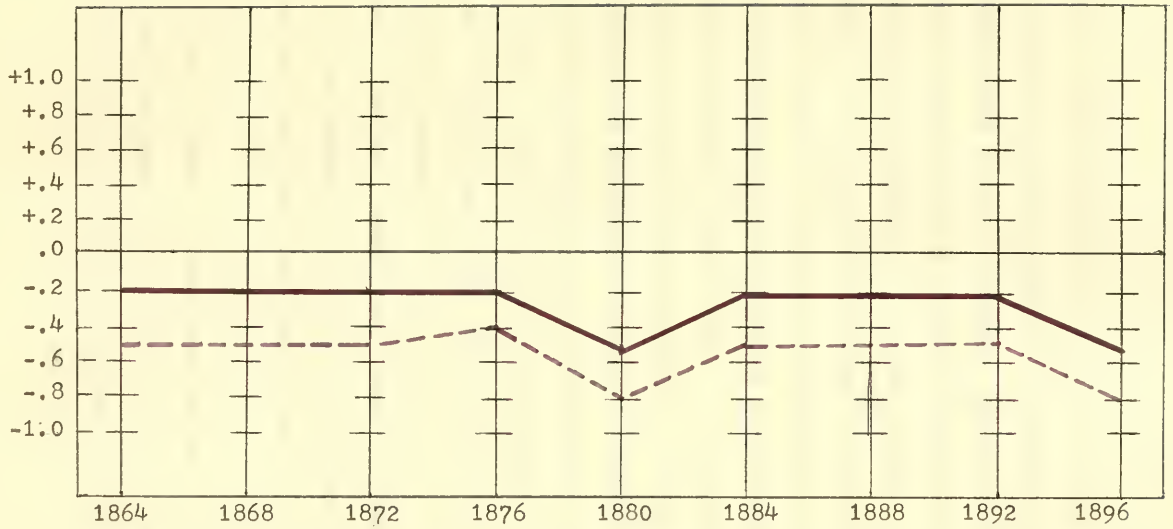

FIGURE 10. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for republican candidates for President in selected townships of Marshall County, Illinois, 1864-1896. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

in Marshall, because their coefficient is -.50. Whichever group led, the Germans once again have a group compactness that is stronger than the natives.

Peoria townships were heavily Republican on the native side and non-committal on the German. A coefficient of +.52 for Peoria shows strong support for Grant. (Fig. 11) The native voter was constantly barraged with Republican propaganda from the numerous newspapers in Peoria's large towns. It is not surprising that natives chose Grant when the lack of widely circulated opposition papers is considered. The metropolitan atmosphere of Peoria certainly was another factor. Throughout the state Republicans carried most highly populated areas, where the native born population exceeded the foreign born. It is misleading to assume German pacification though, because in the townships and wards of highest German concentration, the vote consistantly went to the Liberals.

In LaSalle county, German and native voters were at opposite ends of the scale. The native with +.90 resoundingly supported Grant, and the Germans.

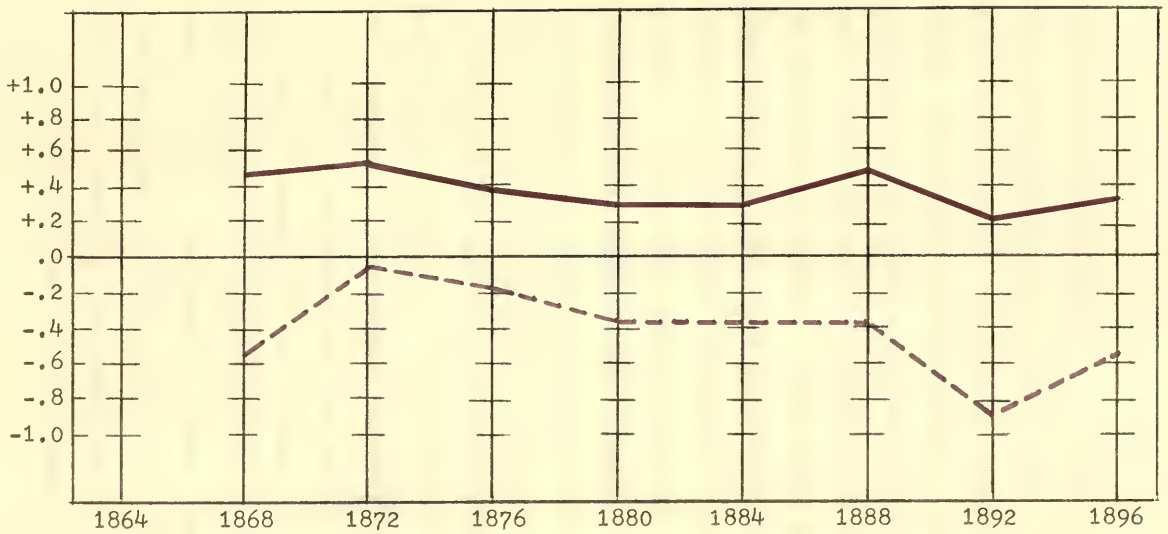

FIGURE 11. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native voters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of Peoria County, Illinois, 1864-1896. Data for the election of 1864 is not available. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

stood behind the Liberals with a +.50 (Fig. 12) The striking differences were probably due to the relatively late arrival of the LaSalle Germans and their concern over purely ethnic matters. The LaSalle natives on the other hand had traditional Republican leanings and a Republican county government, with which there appears to have been no overt dissatisfaction. To throw out an acceptable administration for the untried promises of another seemed foolish, and natives stayed with what they had.

While Germans did support the Liberals in varying degrees in most of the townships, their vote was not large enough to save the election. Likewise, they were not solidly united except in the Marshall, Grundy and LaSalle townships. Their group voting was directly related to the degree of absortion into the society of the area, and the availablity of direct lines of communication to other Germans. When grouped together as in LaSalle-Peru or Peoria, where German language newspapers existed, they voted heavily for the Liberals. When dispersed throughout the country side, however, they succumbed to local pressures, and their support for the Liberals is not as evident.

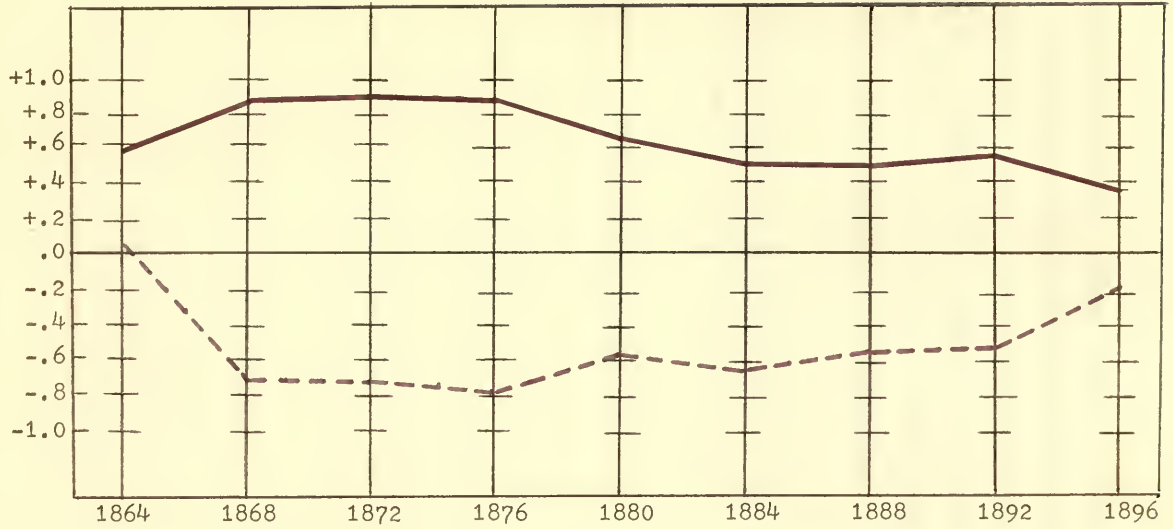

FIGURE 12. Coefficients of correlation between percentages of potential native boters according to the census of 1870 and the percentages of votes cast for Republican candidates for President in selected townships of LaSalle County, Illinois, 186401896. (Dotted line indicates coefficients for German voters).

Yet it is clear that the German voter did tend to vote for the Liberal ticket more readily than his native counterpart. The traditional support for the Republicans throughout the region overcame most native tendancies to switch party. The Germans, on the other hand, seldom had an entrenched party loyalty by 1872, and were willing to vote for the Liberal Republicans as a change from the status quo and with the hope of better things to come.

V. CONCLUSION

In general the Germans of the upper Illinois River valley were not remarkedly different from their neighbors, except in ethnicity. The majority were farmers, although many were craftsmen and merchants, especially in the towns. Usually lower-middle or middle class, they prized the land and came to the area especially to acquire property. Hard work and honesty were as much a part of life as anywhere else in the middle-western farm states. They became involved in politics to varying degrees, dependent on length of residence in the area, occupation, economic status, education, and the degree to which personal interests were involved. They were dedicated to personal liberty and the maintenance of democratic ideals as established in the constitution.

In an election year when political corruption affected all levels of government, many Germans sought leadership that would uphold their conception of honesty and fair play. Others looked for candidates

that would take favorable stands on more German oriented issues like prohibition. The quality of candidates available was low though, and German voters found themselves confronted with an impractical and frustrating choice. In an effort to upgrade government and satisfy their desires, many turned to the Liberal movement, only to be disappointed with the less than liberal candidacy of Greeley. Even on the state level, Germans could not be overly enthusiastic with the leadership of Koerner because of his apparent inablity to draw important regular Republican crossover votes.[1] Given these circumstances it might be concluded that the Germans gave up on the Liberals and grudgingly acquiesced to the Republican incumbency. But, the fact remains that many Germans had lost confidence in the Grant administration and while the Liberals were far from desirable, they did provide an alternative more readily acceptable than Grant.

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[1]It is reasonable to assume that either Senator Trumbull or Governor Palmer would have drawn numerous regular Republican votes, because of their state wide recognition and popularity. These votes along with the ethnic appeal of Koerner, as perhaps Lt. Governor, would probably have made the state contest much closer.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIBERAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION VOTES 1872*

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Charles Francis Adams (Mass.)	203	243	264	279	258	324
Horace Greeley (N.Y.)	147	245	258	251	309	332
Lyman Trumbull (Ill.)	110	148	156	141	81	19
B. Gratz Brown (MO.)	95	2	2	2	2	
David Davis (Ill.)	92½	75	41	51	30	6
Andrew G. Curtin (Penn.)	62					
Salmon P. Chase (Ohio)	2½	1			24	32

*Dennis Tilden Lynch, The Wild Seventies (New York, 1941), 193.

"Address to the People of the United States"*
(Liberal Republicans-1872)

The administration now in power has rendered inself guilty of wanton disregard of the laws of the land, and of usurping powers not granted by the Constitution; it has acted as if the laws had binding force only for those who are governed, and not for those who govern. It has thus struck a blow at the fundamental principles of constitutional government and the liberties of the citizen.

The President of the United States has openly used the powers and opportunities of his high office for the promotion of personal ends.

He has kept notorioulsy corrupt and unworthy men in places of power and responsibility, to the detriment of the public interest.

He has used the public service of the Government as a machinery of corruption and personal influence, and has interfered with tyrannical arrogance in the political affairs of States and municipalities.

He has rewarded with influential and lucrative offices men who had acquired his favor by alienation of our political life by his conspicuous example.

He has shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office.

The partisans of the Administration, assuming to be the Republican party and controlling its organization, have attempted to justify such wrongs and palliate such abuses to the end of maintaining partisan ascendency.

They have stood in the way of necessary investigations and indispensable reforms, pretending that no serious fault could be found with the present administration of public affairs, thus seeking to blind the eyes of the people.

Edward McPherson, A Handbook of Politics for 1872 (Washington City, 1872), 156.

Appendix II (cont.)

They have kept alive the passions and resentments of the late civil war, to use them for their own advantage; they have resorted to arbitrary measures in direct conflict with the organic law, instead of appealing to the better instincts and latent patriotism of the southern people by restoring to them these rights, the enjoyment of which is indispensable to a successful administration of their local affairs, and would tend to revive a patriotic and hopeful national feeling.

They have degraded themselves and the name of their party, once justly entitled to the confidence of the nation, by a base sycophancy to the dispenser of executive power and patronage, unworthy of republican freemen; they have sought to silence the voice of just criticism, and stifle the moral sense of the people, and to subjugate public opinion by tyrannical party discipline.

They are striving to maintain themselves in authority for selfish ends by an unscrupulous use of the power which rightfully belongs to the people, and should be employed only in the service of the country.

Believing that an organization thus led and controlled can no longer be of service to the best interests of the Republic, we have resolved to make an independent appeal to the sober judgment, conscience, and patriotism of the American people.

APPENDIX III

"Resolutions"*
(Liberal Republican-1872)

We, the Liberal Republicans of the United States in national convention assembled at Cincinnati, proclaim the following principles as essential to just government:

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of a person under the protection of the habeas corpus. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order, for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions, and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore

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*Edward McPherson, A Handbook of Politics for 1872 (Washington City, 1872), 207-08.

regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station shall become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reelection.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industry of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference of dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payments is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that /it/ is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendships of peace by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles and the support of the candidates nominated by this convention, we invite and cordially welcome the cooperation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

APPENDIX IV

"Illinois Liberal Republican Platform"* (June 26, 1872)

1. That we cordially approve and reaffirm the principles contained in the Cincinnati platform, and that in the success of these principles, and particularly in the thorough reformation of the civil service and the discontinuance of political patronage, whereby the taxes collected from the whole people are employed to overrule the will of the majority, we see the only solution of free government.

2. That in the administration of our State affairs every effort should be made to lighten taxation by the strictest economy in the expenses of the Government; that in the construction of our public buildings and in the management of our public institutions all extravagance should be avoided; that the officers of the Government should be held to a strict accountability in the discharge of their duties, and that all unnecessary and cumbersome legislation should be avoided.

3. That we can never forget the sacrifices made by the soldiers and sailors whose bravery saved the nation, and we deem it our duty to secure to them the full reward of their patriotism. We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the equalization of their bounty, and in favor of the most liberal recognition of their services in the public employments of the country, having regard only to their fitness for such employment and not to the rank they had in the military service.

4. That the cause of equal rights cannot be considered permanently established so long as any organized opposition thereto exists; therefore we hail with unfeigned satisfaction the evidence presented to us of the cessation and disappearance of such opposition in all parts of our common country.

5. Upon this declaration of principles we take our stand before the people of this State as the party of liberal reforms, of reconciliations, of peace, inviting all persons without regard to previous political associations to cooperate with us in the

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*Edward McPherson, A Handbook of Politics for 1872 (Washington City, 1872), 156.

endeavor to insure the success of these principles, which, while just and true in themselves, are broad enough to include all the political necessities of the hour and the aspirations of every patriotic citizen.

6. A resolution placing colored soldiers on the same footing as white soldiers was also adopted.

APPENDIX V

Chicago Tribune August 9, 1872, 1.

APPENDIX VI

"Illinois State Vote"*
(General Election November 7, 1872)

Governor

Richard J. Oglesby (R).....237,774
Gustavus Koerner (L.R.).....197,084
B. G. Wright.....3,138

Lieutenant-Governor

John L. Beveridge (R).....235,101
J. C. Black (L.R.).....199,763
D. S. Starr.....2,459

Secretary of State

George H. Harlow (R).....241,435
Edward Rummel (L.R.).....193,493
E. Sutton.....2,372

Auditor

C. E. Lippincott (R).....241,498
D. O'Hara (L.R.).....192,708
C. H. Westerman.....2,459

Treasurer

Edward Rutz (R).....242,686
C. H. Lanphier (L.R.).....191,806
Henry West.....2,509

Attorney-General

J. K. Edsall (R).....240,731
John V. Eustace (L.R.).....191,897
George A. Meech.....2,467

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*Abrstracts of Illinois Election Returns 1862-1873. (microfilm, Eastern Illinois University), III, reel 46.

Appendix VI (cont.)

Members of Congress

First District

Lucien B. Otis (R).....7,235
John B. Rice (D).....12,870

Second District

Jasper D. Ward (R).....12,182
C. H. Harrison (D).....8,873

Third District

Charles B. Farwell (R).....9,202
John V. LeMoyne (D).....4,962

Fourth District

Stephen A. Hurlbut (R).....15,532
Seymour G. Bronson (D).....5,134

Fifth District

Horatio C. Burcard (R).....14,036
James Dinsmoor (D).....7,538

Sixth District

John B. Hawley (R).....13,123
Calvin Truesdale (D).....7,215

Seventh District

Franklin Corwin (R).....12,404
G. D. A. Parks (D).....8,293

Eighth District

Greenbury L. Fort (R).....13,401
George O. Barnes (D).....8,304

Appendix VI (cont.)

Ninth District

Granville Barriere (R).....12,600
N. C. Worthington.....10,799

Tenth District

William H. Ray (R).....12,962
William H. Neece (D).....11,897

Eleventh District

Asa C. Matthews (R).....10,939
Robert M. Knapp (D).....13,818

Twelfth District

M. H. Chamberlin (R).....12,311
James C. Robinson (D).....13,234

Thirteenth District

John McNulta (R).....13,490
Clifton H. Moore (L.R.).....10,850
L. L. Leads.....344

Fourteenth District

Joseph G. Cannon (R).....15,161
William Nelson (D).....11,405

Fifteenth District

George Hunt (R).....12,298
John R. Eden (D).....14,653

Sixteenth District

James S. Martin (R).....12,266
Silas L. Bryan (D).....12,016

Seventeenth District

John B. Hay (R).....11,316
William R. Morrison (D).....13,215

Appendix VI (cont.)

Eighteenth District

Isaac Clements (R).....12,999
George W. Wall (D).....11,478

Nineteenth District

Green B. Raum (R).....11,282
Samuel S. Marshall (D).....13,297

APPENDIX VII

Presidental Vote of Selected Townships 1864-1896

BUREAU COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O
1864			
Bureau	90	101	
Leepertown	33	45	
Selby	121	149	
1868			
Bureau	109	96	
Leepertown	36	42	
Selby	121	149	
1872			
Bureau	89	95	
Leepertown	28	18	3
Selby	106	67	3
1876			
Bureau	80	76	3
Leepertown	41	33	3
Selby	118	126	1
1880			
Bureau	103	85	1
Leepertown	41	35	1
Selby	138	143	40
1884			
Bureau	98	96	8
Leepertown	42	47	2
Selby	117	166	33
1888			
Bureau	87	105	6
Leepertown	38	50	3
Selby	119	170	41
1892			
Bureau	81	96	20
Leepertown	56	52	8
Selby	107	150	46
1896			
Bureau	83	99	13
Leepertown	83	75	6
Selby	146	163	36

*Returns from Bureau County Republican (Princton), November 1864-November 1892.

Appendix VII (cont.)

GRUNDY COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O
1864			
Auxsable	73	99	
Erienna	30	40	
Felix	49	41	
Morris	341	236	
Norman	42	43	
Waupansie	84	42	
1868			
Auxsable	103	95	
Erienna	31	47	
Felix	84	45	
Morris	484	267	
Norman	62	39	
Waupansie	96	50	
1872			
Auxsable	78	78	
Erienna	25	31	
Felix	57	23	
Morris	355	222	
Norman	50	23	
Waupansie	115	30	
1876			
Auxsable	113	118	13
Erienna	27	41	
Felix	93	52	2
Morris	479	337	11
Norman	46	48	1
Waupansie	131	39	3
1880			
Not Available			
1884			
Auxsable	97	109	24
Erienna	29	22	
Felix	92	46	18
Morris	453	340	62
Norman	61	41	
Waupansie	130	40	
1888			
Auxsable	91	105	19
Erienna	29	28	
Felix	138	102	5
Morris	399	260	83
Norman	45	47	
Waupansie	104	48	7
1892			
Not Available			

*Returns from Herald and Adviser (Morris), November 1864-1896.

Appendix VII (cont.)

GRUNDY COUNTY
(cont.)

1896			
Auxsable	128	114	7
Erienna	43	20	
Felix	507	284	34
Morris	705	308	29
Norman	43	44	1
Waupansie	130	41	5

Appendix VII (cont.)

MARSHALL COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O	Township	R	D	O
1864				1868			
Henry	260	186		Henry	296	214	
Hopewell	44	114		Hopewell	48	117	
Lacon	223	252		Lacon	270	284	
Steuben	127	133		Steuben	164	133	
1872				1876			
Henry	228	115	7	Henry	232	217	2
Hopewell	29	98		Hopewell	29	121	6
Lacon	217	187	2	Lacon	210	187	2
Steuben	132	109	5	Steuben	100	75	50
1880				1884			
Henry	251	232	26	Henry	296	218	
Hopewell	33	122	4	Hopewell	28	112	
Lacon	214	271	16	Lacon	237	296	
Steuben	118	95	9	Steuben	130	109	
1888				1892			
Henry	249	231	11	Henry	241	250	19
Hopewell	43	87	1	Hopewell	51	92	2
Lacon	231	284	11	Lacon	195	318	15
Steuben	112	125	3	Steuben	117	139	8
1896							
Henry	293	268	8				
Hopewell	58	87					
Lacon	290	293					
Steuben	157	121	2				

*Returns from Illinois Weekly Gazette (Lacon), Nov. 16, 1864; Sparland Home Journal (Lacon), Nov. 11, 1868; Home Journal (Lacon), Nov. 1872-1888; Marshall County Republican (Henry), Nov. 10, 1892; Marshall County Democrat (Lacon), Nov. 5, 1896.

Appendix VII (cont.)

LASALLE COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O
1864			
Brookfield	114	106	
Deer Park	103	93	
Fall River	70	40	
LaSalle	202	521	
Manlius	219	172	
Ottawa	564	789	
Peru	284	350	
Rutland	53	134	
South Ottawa	137	90	
Utica	61	133	
1868			
Brookfield	147	144	
Deer Park	114	82	
Fall River	81	35	
LaSalle	244	583	
Manlius	456	273	
Ottawa	641	861	
Peru	297	444	
Rutland	139	155	
South Ottawa	165	92	
Utica	96	120	
1872			
Brookfield	112	72	
Deer Park	90	51	
Fall River	52	21	
LaSalle	228	468	
Manlius	277	128	
Ottawa	520	652	
Peru	195	372	
Rutland	164	87	
South Ottawa	144	37	
Utica	99	79	
1876			
Brookfield	97	107	1
Deer Park	95	74	
Fall River	67	36	
LaSalle	328	778	173
Manlius	265	177	2
Ottawa	632	947	9
Peru	332	528	2
Rutland	183	155	
South Ottawa	178	113	2
Utica	121	117	2
1880			
Brookfield	85	143	
Deer Park	118	80	11
Fall River	72	42	
LaSalle	456	777	290
Manlius	246	176	15
Ottawa	684	917	10
Peru	354	524	25
Rutland	201	180	0
South Ottawa	190	100	
Utica	149	112	14
1884			
Brookfield	78	127	
Deer Park	109	86	
Fall River	49	49	2
LaSalle	482	774	177
Manlius	257	205	35
Ottawa	783	1044	2
Peru	247	629	6
Rutland	208	180	1
South Ottawa	195	116	
Utica	151	113	

*Returns from Free Trader (Ottawa), Nov. 1864-1888; Republican Times (Ottawa), Nov. 17, 1892; Free Trader (Ottawa), Nov. 1896.

Appendix VII (cont.)

LASALLE COUNTY
(cont.)

1888		
Brookfield	70	144
Deer Park	114	68
Fall River	51	50
LaSalle	120	1115
Manlius	153	255
Ottawa	872	1149
Peru	316	777
Rutland	197	178
South Ottawa	211	128
Utica	174	136

1892		
Brookfield	73	140
Deer Park	87	72
Fall River	33	54
LaSalle	---	---
Manlius	305	276
Ottawa	974	1403
Peru	299	857
Rutland	226	216
South Ottawa	296	158
Utica	172	149

1896		
Brookfield	102	105
Deer Park	136	75
Fall River	46	57
LaSalle	1064	1265
Manlius	405	273
Ottawa	1422	1025
Peru	641	669
Rutland	297	169
South Ottawa	434	100
Utica	217	166

Appendix VII (cont.)

PEORIA COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O
1864			
Not Available			
1868			
Chillicothe	192	199	
Hollis	70	96	
Limestone	107	267	
Medina	57	122	
Peoria	1621	1815	
Richwoods	116	99	
Timber	179	155	
1872			
Chillicothe	116	156	
Hollis	63	67	
Limestone	97	209	
Medina	44	89	
Peoria	1500	2005	
Richwoods	81	89	
Timber	156	121	
1876			
Chillicothe	130	214	7
Hollis	87	151	13
Limestone	114	277	
Medina	52	116	4
Peoria	2188	2767	22
Richwoods	107	140	1
Timber	176	202	
1880			
Chillicothe	98	153	72
Hollis	88	122	31
Limestone	98	290	28
Medina	50	108	33
Peoria	2677	3163	116
Richwoods	149	138	9
Timber	188	195	9
1884			
Chillicothe	126	182	
Hollis	94	116	
Limestone	145	445	
Median	51	117	
Peoria	3335	3817	
Richwoods	183	165	
Timber	196	211	
1888			
Chillicothe	244	293	7
Hollis	109	137	1
Limestone	145	394	9
Medina	71	175	10
Peoria	3607	4372	111
Richwoods	191	162	5
Timber	198	196	11
1892			
Chillicothe	242	289	25
Hollis	78	133	20
Limestone	147	386	24
Medina	71	81	23
Peoria	4350	4731	216
Richwoods	293	266	13
Timber	158	211	23

*Returns from Transcript (Peoria), Nov. 1868-Nov. 1872; Daily Transcript (Peoria), Nov. 1876-Nov. 1884; Weekly Journal (Peoria), Nov. 1888 & 1896; Daily Transcript (Peoria),Nov. 1892.

Appendix VII (cont.)

PEORIA COUNTY
(cont.)

1896			
Chillicothe	307	421	12
Hollis	109	157	3
Limestone	230	418	7
Medina	84	114	3
Peoria	6687	5543	191
Richwoods	655	339	13
Timber	227	247	3

Appendix VII (cont.)

WILL COUNTY*

Township	R	D	O
1864			
Channahan	124	93	
DuPage	108	73	
Joliet	412	1081	
Lockport	283	310	
Troy	46	132	
1868			
Channahan	132	113	
DuPage	112	87	
Joliet	---	---	
Lockport	324	394	
Troy	85	132	
1872			
Channahan	117	139	
DuPage	85	74	
Joliet	972	1014	
Lockport	264	237	
Troy	62	113	
1876			
Not Availabel			
1880			
Channahan	138	132	11
DuPage	125	121	3
Joliet	1180	1329	314
Lockport	351	315	35
Troy	96	129	9
1884			
Channahan	121	142	
DuPage	93	142	
Joliet	1635	1706	
Lockport	354	399	
Troy	77	122	
1888			
Channahan	105	123	12
DuPage	125	91	7
Joliet	2264	2114	75
Lockport	453	474	28
Troy	76	119	
1892			
Channahan	90	116	4
DuPage	87	119	5
Joliet	2826	2988	168
Lockport	330	530	24
Troy	61	128	7
1896			
Channahan	141	117	
DuPage	128	130	
Joliet	3939	3489	16
Lockport	831	529	1
Troy	72	135	1

*Returns from Signal (Joliet), Nov. 1864-Nov. 1872; Sun (Joliet) Nov. 1880); Daily News (Joliet), Nov. 1884-Nov. 1888; Daily Republican (Joliet), Nov. 1892; Weekly News (Joliet), Nov. 1896.

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